UNIVERSITY OF ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE
3 1761 06694098 2

ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE
LIBRARY

UNIVERSITY OF ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE
LIBRARY

THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

FOUNDED BY JAMES LOEB, LL.D.

EDITED BY

†T. E. PAGE, C.H., LITT.D.

†E. CAPPS, PH.D., LL.D. †W. H. D. ROUSE, LITT.D.

L. A. POST, M.A. E. H. WARMINGTON, M.A., F.R.HIST.SOC.

PRUDENTIUS

II

PRUDENTIUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

H. J. THOMSON, D.Litt.

EMERITUS PROFESSOR OF LATIN IN THE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF NORTH WALES, BANGOR

IN TWO VOLUMES

II

LONDON
WILLIAM HEINEMANN LTD
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
MCMLIII

SEP 9 1956

Printed in Great Britain

CONTENTS

	PAGE
CONTRA ORATIONEM SYMMACHI, LIBER II . . .	2
PERISTEPHANON LIBER	98
TITULI HISTORIARUM (DITTOCHAEON)	346
EPILOGUS	372
INDEX	377

THE POEMS OF PRUDENTIUS

CONTRA ORATIONEM SYMMACHI

LIBER II

PRAEFATIO

Simon, quem vocitant Petrum,
summus discipulus Dei,
lucis forte sub exitu,
cum vesper croceus rubet,
curvam vulserat ancoram
captans flamina linteis
et transnare volens fretum.
nox ventum movet obvium
fundo qui mare misceat,
iactatam quatiat ratem.
clamor nauticus aethera
plangens atque ululans ferit
cum stridore rudentium,
nec quidquam suberat spei
mergendis prope naufragis,
cum Christum procul aspicit
pallens turba periculis
calcantem pedibus mare,
ac si per solidam viam
siccum litus obambulet.

A REPLY TO THE ADDRESS OF SYMMACHUS [a]

BOOK II

PREFACE

Simon, whom men call Peter, God's chief disciple, once as the sun was setting, when the evening turns from gold to red, had pulled up his curved anchor, courting the breezes with his canvas and wishing to sail across the sea. But night brought up such a head-wind as disturbed the waters from their depths and tossed and shook the vessel. The boatmen's cries of woe and lamentation struck the skies amid the whistling in the ropes, and they had no hope left of escaping speedy wreck and drowning, when suddenly at some distance the company, whose perils had blanched their cheeks, saw Christ treading on the sea just as if He were walking over a dry shore on a firm path.

[a] See Introduction, vol. I, pp. x–xii.

haec miracula ceteri
vectores pavidi stupent,
solus non trepidus Petrus
agnoscit Dominum poli
terraeque et maris invii,
cuius omnipotentiae est
plantis aequora subdere.
tendit suppliciter manus,
notum subsidium rogat.
ast ille placide adnuens
puppi ut desiliat iubet.
iussis obsequitur Petrus,
sed vestigia fluctibus
summis tingere coeperat
et lapsante gradu pedes
pessum mergere lubricos.
mortalem Deus increpat
quod sit non stabili fide
nec calcare fluentia
nec Christum valeat sequi.
tum dextra famulum levat
sistitque et docet ingredi
tergum per tumidum freti.
  sic me tuta silentia
egressum dubiis loquax
infert lingua periculis,
non, ut discipulum Petrum,
fidentem et merito et fide,
sed quem culpa frequens levem
volvat per freta naufragum.
sum plane temerarius,
qui noctis mihi conscius
quam vitae in tenebris ago,
puppem credere fluctibus

At this marvel the rest of the men on board were struck dumb with fear; Peter alone undismayed recognised the Lord of heaven and earth and of the pathless sea, to whose omnipotence it belongs to put the waters under his feet. He stretched forth his hands in prayer, asking for the help he knew so well; but Christ, beckoning calmly, bade him leap down from the ship. Peter obeyed the command, but scarce had he wetted his soles on the surface of the water when he felt his steps give way and his feet slip and sink down. God rebuked the mortal man for the unsteadiness of his faith and his want of strength to tread on the waves and follow Christ. Then with his hand He raised his servant and set him up and taught him to walk on the heaving surface of the sea.

In the same way I, passing the safe bounds of silence, am brought into anxious peril by my restless tongue; for I cannot, like the disciple Peter, place my trust both in merit and in faith, but am such an one as manifold sins have shipwrecked and roll lightly over the waters. Rash indeed am I, since though well aware of the night which I am passing in my darkened life, I do not fear to entrust my bark

tanti non timeam viri;
quo nunc nemo disertior
exultat, fremit, intonat,
ventisque eloquii tumet:
cui mersare facillimum est
tractandae indocilem ratis,
ni tu, Christe potens, manum
dextro numine porrigas,
facundi oris ut inpetus
non me fluctibus obruat,
sed sensim gradiens vadis
insistam fluitantibus.

Hactenus et veterum cunabula prima deorum
et causas quibus error hebes conflatus in orbe est
diximus, et nostro Romam iam credere Christo;
nunc obiecta legam, nunc dictis dicta refellam.
unde igitur coepisse ferunt aut ex quibus orsum,
quo mage sancta ducum corda inlice flecteret arte?
armorum dominos vernantes flore iuventae,
inter castra patris genitos, sub imagine avita
eductos, exempla domi congesta calentes,
orator catus instigat, ceu classica belli
clangeret, exacuitque animos et talia iactat:
" si vobis vel parta, viri, victoria cordi est
vel parienda dehinc, templum dea virgo sacratum
obtineat vobis regnantibus. ecquis amicus
hostibus hanc vestro sancte negat esse colendam
imperio, cui semper adest, quod laudibus inplet? "

---

[a] Honorius and Arcadius, sons of Theodosius I, and emperors of the West and East respectively.

[b] The father of Theodosius, who bore the same name, had been eminent as a military commander, doing very notable service in Britain and Africa in the time of Valentinian I.

to the flood of so great a man; for none in our time has greater power of speech to leap and roar and thunder and swell in storms of eloquence. Most easy it were for him to sink me, since I have no skill in handling my boat, unless Thou, O mighty Christ, reach forth thy hand to aid me with thy divine power, so that the rush of his eloquent speech shall not overwhelm me in the deep, but walking step by step I may stand firm on the rolling waters.

So far I have spoken of the first origins of the old gods and the causes which gave rise to witless superstition in the world, and how Rome now trusts in our Christ. Now I shall review our opponent's case and rebut argument with argument. From what point, then, do they say he began, from what grounds did he start so as to turn the pious minds of our leaders [a] with more effect by his seductive skill? Masters of arms, in the bloom and flower of young manhood, born amid their father's campaigns, brought up after the likeness of their grandsire,[b] and fired by historic examples accumulated in their family, like the artful orator he is he incites them as if he were sounding the trump of war, and seeks to whet their spirits with words like these: "If, sirs, victory gained or to be gained hereafter is dear to you, let the virgin goddess [c] keep her dedicated temple while you reign. Is any man so friendly to our foes as to deny that she deserves the pious worship of your imperial power, which she ever favours and fills with glory?" [d]

[c] Victory. Meetings of the senate began with the burning of incense on her altar.

[d] *Cf.* Symmachus, *Relatio* iii, 4.

haec ubi legatus, reddunt placidissima fratrum
ora ducum: "scimus quam sit victoria dulcis
fortibus, Ausoniae[a] vir facundissime linguae,
sed quibus illa modis, qua sit ratione vocanda
novimus; hac primum pueros pater imbuit arte,
hanc genitore suo didicit puer ipse magistro.
non aris, non farre molae[b] victoria felix
exorata venit: labor inpiger, aspera virtus,
vis animi excellens, ardor, violentia, cura
hanc tribuunt, durum tractandis robur in armis.
quae si defuerint bellantibus, aurea quamvis
marmoreo in templo rutilas Victoria pinnas
explicet et multis surgat formata talentis,
non aderit, versisque offensa videbitur hastis.
quid, miles, propriis diffisus viribus aptas
inrita femineae tibimet solacia formae?
numquam pinnigeram legio ferrata puellam
vidit, anhelantum regeret quae tela virorum.
vincendi quaeris dominam? sua dextera cuique est,
et Deus omnipotens, non pexo crine virago
nec nudo suspensa pede strophioque recincta
nec tumidas fluitante sinu vestita papillas.
aut vos pictorum docuit manus adsimulatis
iure poetarum numen conponere monstris,
aut lepida ex vestro sumpsit pictura sacello
quod variis imitata notis ceraque liquenti

---

[a] Ausonia was properly the country of the Ausones (or Aurunci) in central Italy; but the name came to be applied to the whole peninsula.

[b] The *mola salsa*, a mixture of parched grain and salt which was sprinkled on the animals to be offered in sacrifice.

[c] This description may be compared with illustrations of statues of Victory (Nice) in a Dictionary of Antiquities.

To these words of the senate's deputy the brother leaders calmly answer: "We know how sweet is victory to the brave, most eloquent speaker of the Ausonian [a] tongue; but we know the ways and method by which she is to be invoked; it was in this art that our father first trained us in our boyhood, it was this that he himself learned as a boy from the teaching of his sire. Not with altars nor ground wheat [b] is auspicious victory prevailed upon to come. It is tireless toil, rude courage, surpassing energy of spirit, burning zeal, forcefulness, painstaking, that bestow victory, and stark strength in handling arms. If men at war lack these, then even though a golden Victory unfold her flashing wings in a marble temple, a lofty figure that cost a great price, she will not be at their side, and their spears turned about will seem to show her offended. Why, soldier, if you distrust your own strength, do you equip yourself with the useless aid of a woman's figure? Never has an armoured legion seen a winged maid whose part it was to direct the panting warriors' weapons. Seek you the power that rules victory? It is a man's own right hand, and almighty God, no she-warrior with dressed hair, hovering bare-footed, girt in with a band, while the robe that clothes her swelling breasts flows in loose folds over her bosom.[c] Either the handiwork of painters has taught you to make a divinity out of unreal shapes which the poet's licence has feigned, or the painter's pretty art has taken from your shrine something to copy with diverse strokes and melted wax [d] and shape into a figure,

[d] Wax was used as a medium for binding the pigments in the encaustic process.

duceret in faciem, sociique poematis arte
aucta coloratis auderet ludere fucis.
sic unum sectantur iter, sic inania rerum [1]
somnia concipiunt et Homerus et acer Apelles
et Numa, cognatumque volunt pigmenta, Camenae,
idola, convaluit fallendi trina potestas.
haec si non ita sunt, edatur, cur sacra vobis
ex tabulis cerisque poetica fabula praestat?
cur Berecyntiacus perdit truncata sacerdos
inguina, cum pulchrum poesis castraverit Attin?
cur etiam templo Triviae lucisque sacratis
cornipedes arcentur equi, cum Musa pudicum
raptarit iuvenem volucri per litora curru,
idque etiam paries tibi versicolorus adumbret?
desine, si pudor est, gentilis ineptia, tandem
res incorporeas simulatis fingere membris,
desine terga hominis plumis obducere: frustra
fertur avis mulier magnusque eadem dea vultur.
vis decorare tuum, ditissima Roma, senatum?
suspende exuvias armis et sanguine captas,

[1] *Some MSS. have* sic cassa figuris.

---

[a] A celebrated Greek painter who lived in the second half of the 4th century B.C. He was portrait-painter to Alexander the Great (*cf.* Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* XXXV, 79–97, Horace, *Epistles*, II, 1, 237 ff.).

[b] The early king to whom tradition ascribed the foundation of Roman religious institutions.

[c] The young Attis (whose story is the subject of Catullus's 63rd poem) is connected with Cybele (*cf.* I, 187), to whom Berecyntus, a mountain in Phrygia, was sacred.

[d] Diana, so called because of her identification with Hecate, who was associated with cross-roads.

[e] Hippolytus. He incurred the resentment of his step-mother Phaedra and she accused him to his father Theseus,

making bold to depict it fancifully with coloured paints and aided by the art of her partner poetry. In this way Homer and bold Apelles [a] and Numa [b] follow the same path and conceive baseless visions, and painting, poetry, and idolatry have a kindred aim. The power of deception grew strong in three forms. If it is not so, let it be stated why poets' tales furnish you with objects of worship from pictures and waxen figures. Why does the Berecyntian priest mutilate and destroy his loins, after poetry has castrated the fair Attis? [c] Why also are horny-hoofed horses excluded from the precinct of the goddess of the cross-ways [d] and her consecrated groves, after the Muse has carried away a chaste youth [e] along the shore in a flying chariot, and a wall too gives you a picture of the scene delineated in many colours.[f] Cease, silly pagan, if you have any modesty, cease at last to model incorporeal things in counterfeit bodies [g]; cease to cover a human back with feathers; it is in vain that a woman passes as a bird, a great vulture and a goddess both in one. Would'st thou, wealthy Rome, adorn thy senate-house? Hang up the spoils that arms and blood have

who banished him under a curse. While riding away in a chariot he was killed because Poseidon (Neptune) sent a sea-monster which frightened his horses so that he was thrown from the chariot and dragged along. In Virgil's *Aeneid*, VII, 765–780, from which in lines 53 and 54 Prudentius quotes almost verbatim, there is a story that Hippolytus was restored to life and sheltered by Diana in her grove at Aricia in Latium, from which horses were excluded because they had caused his death.

[f] Wall-paintings in houses often represented scenes from the Greek mythology.

[g] *I.e.* to personify an idea, such as that of victory, and give it wings like a bird's.

congere caesorum victrix diademata regum,
frange repulsorum foeda ornamenta deorum:
tunc tibi non terris tantum victoria parta
sed super astra etiam media servabitur aede."
talia principibus dicta interfantibus ille
prosequitur magnisque tubam concentibus inflat;
allegat morem veterem, nil dulcius esse
affirmat solitis populosque hominesque teneri
lege sua. " sicut variae nascentibus," inquit,
" contingunt pueris animae, sic urbibus adfert
hora diesque suus, cum primum moenia surgunt,
aut fatum aut genium, cuius moderamine regnent."
addit et arcanum rerum verique latebras
prosperitate aliqua deprendi posse secundi
per documenta boni, si sint felicia quae quis
experiendo probet: cessisse parentibus omne
idolium semper feliciter et pede dextro.
enumerat longi vim temporis, excitat ipsam
crinibus albentem niveis et fronte vietam,
ore reposcentem querulo sua numina Romam.
" libera sum, liceat proprio mihi vivere more.
ecquis erit, qui mille meos reprehenderit annos?
uno omnes sub sole siti vegetamur eodem
aere, communis cunctis viventibus aura.
sed qui sit qualisque Deus, diversa secuti
quaerimus atque viis longe distantibus unum
imus ad occultum. suus est mos cuique genti,

won; heap up, to mark thy victory, the crowns of kings thou hast slain; but break the hideous ornaments that represent gods thou hast cast away. Then will be preserved for thee in the midst of the temple the memory of victory not gained on earth only but beyond the stars."

When our leaders interpose such words he goes on and blows the trumpet with loud music, adducing long-established custom, asserting that nothing is more agreeable than the wonted ways, and that nations and men are subject to laws of their own. "Just as children," he says, "have different spirits allotted to them at their birth, so to each city, when first its walls rise up, its own hour and day bring a destiny or genius under whose government it shall bear rule."[a] And he says further that the mystery of things, the secrets of truth, can be grasped through some success men meet with, by means of the proofs of blessing, if what a man puts to the test of trial has a happy outcome; and that for our fathers the worship of idols ever brought happy and prosperous results. He recites the force it gains through a long period of time, and calls up Rome herself, with snow-white hair and wrinkled brow, in plaintive tones calling for the return of her divinities: "I am free; let me live after my own fashion. Will there be any to cast up to me my thousand years? We all draw life from the same atmosphere under the same sun, all living beings share the same air; but we follow different paths when we inquire into the being and nature of God, and by ways far apart approach the same secret; every race has its own

[a] *Cf.* Symmachus, 5 and 8.

per quod iter properans eat ad tam grande profundum."
his tam magnificis tantaque fluentibus arte
respondit vel sola Fides doctissima primum
pandere vestibulum verae ad penetralia sectae.
nam cum divinis agimus de rebus et illum,
qui vel principio caruit vel fine carebit
quique chao anterior fuerit mundumque crearit,
coniectare animo contendimus, exigua est vis
humani ingenii tantoque angusta labori.
quippe minor natura aciem si intendere temptet
acrius ac penetrare Dei secreta supremi,
quis dubitet victo fragilem lassescere visu
vimque fatigatae mentis sub pectore parvo
turbari invalidisque hebetem subcumbere curis?
sed facilis fidei via provocat omnipotentem
credere qui bona non tantum praesentia donat,
sed ventura etiam longisque intermina saeclis
promittit, ne totus eam resolutus inane
in nihilum pereamque brevem post luminis usum.
muneris auctorem[1] ipso de munere pendas:
aeterna aeternus tribuit, mortalia confert
mortalis, divina Deus, peritura caducus.
omnia quae tempus peragit quaeque exitus aufert
vilia sunt brevitate sui, nec digna perenni
largitore, cui propria est opulentia numquam
desinere idque homini dare quod non desinat umquam.

[1] *Some MSS. have* auctores.

---

[a] *Ib.* 9 and 10. Symmachus argues that the claim of the old religion is supported by its long history; it was the old gods who saved Rome from Hannibal and the Gauls; and in the spirit of syncretistic monotheism which was characteristic

custom, and that is the line along which it must hasten to reach the great mystery." [a]

To these fine words flowing with such art Faith has given the answer, for she before all has skill to open the first approach to the heart of the true belief. For when we are concerned with divine things and striving to reach a conception of Him who was without beginning and will be without end, who existed before the primeval darkness and created the world, the force of the human mind is too petty and limited for so great a task. If the lesser nature seek to strain its gaze too keenly and to penetrate the mystery of the most high God, who would question that its vision is beaten, its frail power flags, the working of the tired intellect is thrown out in the little mind and is dulled and fails under its feeble efforts? But the easy way of faith calls to believe that the Almighty is He who not only grants us blessings for the present time but promises blessings to come, that will last without end through the long ages, so that I shall not wholly pass away into empty nothingness and perish after a brief enjoyment of the light. Estimate the giver of the gift by the gift itself: it is the eternal who gives the eternal, the mortal who bestows mortal things; divine gifts are from God, transitory gifts from one whose life is fleeting. All things which time brings to a conclusion, which have their end and disappear, are made of little worth by their own brief existence; they are unworthy of an everlasting giver to whom belongs the plenitude to live without end and give to man that which shall be without end. For if God

of the period he suggests that pagans and Christians are really each in their own way seeking contact with the same divine power.

nam si corruptum corrumpendumve Deus quid
praestat habetque nihil quod sit pretiosius istis,
pauper et infirmus et summo indignus honore
et non omnipotens sed inanis numinis umbra est.
hac ratione Fides sapienter conicit, immo
non dubitat verum esse Deum, qui quod sumus et quod
vivimus inlaesum semper fore, si mereamur,
nos sperare iubet. " caelestia si placet," inquit,
" scandere, terrenas animo depellite curas.
nam quantum subiecta situ tellus iacet infra
dividiturque ab humo convexi regia caeli,
tantum vestra meis distant mundana futuris,
dira bonis, scelerata piis, tenebrosa serenis.
quidquid obire potest fugiatis censeo, quidquid
naturae ratione capit vitium atque senescit
pro nihilo, in nihilum quia sunt reditura, putetis.
cuncta equidem quae gignit humus, quae continet,
ipse
principio institui nitidoque insignia mundo
ornamenta dedi speciosaque semina finxi.
sed tamen esse modum volui parcisque fruenda
moribus indulsi, quantum moribundus et aeger
corporis ac vitae volucris sibi posceret usus;
non ut captus homo studiis et inaniter ardens
duceret omne bonum positum in dulcedine rerum
et specie tenui quas currere tempore iussi;
atque aevum statui, sub quo generosa probarem
pectora, ne torpens et non exercita virtus
robur enervatum gereret sine laude palaestrae.[1]

[1] *In place of* 143 *two of Bergman's Class B MSS. have*

enervare suum corrupta per otia robur
posset et in nullo luctamine pigra iaceret.

(" might unman its strength in degenerate idleness and lie inactive, engaging in no struggle.") *In some MSS. of both*

provides aught that is decayed or doomed to decay and possesses nothing that is more precious than these, then is He poor and weak and undeserving of supreme honour, not all-powerful but a vain shadow of godhead. In such wise Faith wisely infers, nay, is confident, that the true God is one who bids us hope that our being and life will be for ever unimpaired if we are deserving. "If," He says, "you would ascend to heaven, cast from your hearts the cares of earth. For as far as the earth beneath lies below and the court of the vaulted heaven is separated from the world, so far are your worldly things from my eternal things, curses from blessings, sin from goodness, darkness from the clear light of day. Shun, I counsel you, all that can perish; all that by reason of its nature admits of defect and decline reckon as nothing, since it is destined to return to nothingness. All that earth produces or contains I myself established in the beginning; I gave the smiling world its splendid dress and created the beauteous things that grow in it; yet I willed that there be a due measure and granted them to be enjoyed frugally, only as far as the frail, mortal needs of the body and its fleeting life required, not that man being caught by desires in vain eagerness should reckon that all good lies in the sweetness and unsubstantial show of things which I have ordained to run their course in time; and I have set a period in which to prove noble hearts, lest their goodness being dormant and unexercised should wield a strength that was nerveless, winning no credit in the training-school. For the

---

classes both versions are in the text. The two oldest MSS. are wanting.

inlecebrosus enim sapor est et pestifer horum,
quae, dum praetereunt, miro oblectamine mentes
inplicitas vinctasque tenent. vincenda voluptas,
elaqueanda animi constantia, ne retinaclis
mollibus ac lentis nexa et captiva prematur.
luctandum summis conatibus, inter acerba
sectandum virtutis iter, ne suavia fluxae
condicionis amet, nimium ne congerat aurum,
ne varios lapidum cupide spectare colores
ambitiosa velit, ne se popularibus auris
ostentet pulchroque inflata tumescat honore,
ne natale solum, patrii ne iugera ruris
tendat et externos animum diffundat in agros,
et ne corporeis addicat sensibus omne
quod vult aut quod agit, ne praeferat utile iusto,
spemque in me omnem statuat numquam peritura
quae dedero, longoque die mea dona trahenda."
haec igitur spondente Deo quis fortis et acer
virtutisque capax breve quidque perennibus in se
praetulerit? vel quis sapiens potiora putarit
gaudia membrorum quam vivae praemia mentis?
nonne hominem ac pecudem distantia separat una,
quod bona quadrupedum ante oculos sita sunt, ego contra
spero quod extra aciem longum servatur in aevum?
nam si tota mihi cum corpore vita peribit
nec poterit superesse meum post funera quidquam,
quis mihi regnator caeli, quis conditor orbis,
quis Deus aut quae iam merito metuenda potestas?
ibo per inpuros fervente libidine luxus,

savour of these things is seductive and baleful; while they pass they entwine men's minds with a strange delight and hold them bound. Pleasure must be overcome and strength of will unfettered, lest the grip of the soft, tenacious bonds hold it down in captivity. Man must struggle with all his might and follow the path of virtue amid hardness, so that in his heart he shall not love the pleasantness of a situation that is transitory, gather too much gold, seek in vain-glory to gaze with eager eyes on stones of different hues, display himself to the winds of popular favour and be puffed up and swell with pride in the grandeur of office, extend the soil of his birth, the acres of land he inherited, and let his desire flow on to other men's fields, subject all his wishes and actions to his bodily senses and set advantage before righteousness; but shall place in me all his hope that what I give will never pass away, that my gifts will endure through length of time." When God, then, makes such promises, what man of courage and vigour and capacity for goodness would prefer the shortlived to what is eternal in him? What man of sense would fancy that the pleasures of his body are more important than the prizes his living soul can win? Is not the only difference that marks off man from the beast of the field that the good things of the four-footed creatures lie before their eyes, whereas I hope for something which is beyond my sight and reserved for a distant day? For if my life is to perish wholly with my body and naught of mine can survive my death, what ruler of heaven, what creator of the world, what God or power have I any longer cause to fear? I shall go with burning passion from one unclean indulgence to another, defile marriage-beds

incestabo toros, sacrum calcabo pudorem,
infitiabor habens aliquod sine teste propinqui
depositum, tenues avidus spoliabo clientes,
longaevam perimam magico cantamine matrem
(tardat anus dominum dilata morte secundum)
nec formido malum. falluntur publica iura;
lex armata sedet, sed nescit crimen opertum;
aut, si res pateat, iudex corrumpitur auro.
rara reos iusta percellit poena securi.
sed quid ego haec meditor? revocat Deus ecce severa
maiestate minax, negat interitura meorum
per mortem monumenta operum. "non occidet," inquit,
"interior qui spirat homo; luet ille perenne
supplicium quod subiectos male rexerit artus.
nec mihi difficile est liquidam circumdare flammis
naturam; quamvis perflabilis illa feratur
more noti, capiam tamen et tormenta adhibebo
ipse incorporeus ac spirituum sator unus.
quin et corporibus parilis consortia poenae
decernam, possum quoniam renovare favillas
antiquam in faciem, nec desperanda potestas:
qui potui formare novum, reparabo peremptum.
non desunt exempla meae virtutis in ipsis
seminibus: natura docet revirescere cuncta
post obitum. siccantur enim pereunte vigore
quo vixere prius: tunc sicca et mortua sulcis
aut foveis mandata latent et more sepulcri
obruta de tumulis redivivo germine surgunt.

and trample on sacred modesty, deny something a kinsman has left in trust with me without a witness, though I have it all the while, greedily rob humble dependents, put an end to a long-lived mother with a spell, for by putting off her death the old dame is delaying the next owner's succession; and I have no fear of punishment, for the public statutes are cheated; the law sits armed but knows nothing of the crime that is done in secret; or if the fact should be disclosed the judge is bribed with gold, and it is seldom that retribution smites the guilty with the axe they merit. But why do I meditate such acts? There is God calling me back with the menace of his stern majesty; He tells me that the record of my works will not be done away by my death. "The man who breathes within," He says, "will not die; he will pay an everlasting penalty for misguiding the body placed under his control. It is not hard for me to set a spiritual being in the midst of flames. Though being incorporeal it speed like the wind, I shall catch it none the less and torment it, for I myself am incorporeal and the only creator of spirits. And I shall ordain fellowship in the like punishment for bodies, since I can bring back the ashes into their old shape, and I have no cause to give up my power for lost. I who was able to create the new shall restore the dead. There are examples of my power in the very seeds: nature teaches them all to come to life again after death. For they are dried up by the loss of the strength whereby they lived before; but then, dried up and dead, they are committed to furrow or trench and lie there unseen, and though they are buried as in a grave they rise from their tombs and sprout with life anew.

numquid nosse potes, vel coniectare, quis istud
tam sollers opifex struat aut quae vis agat intus?
nil vos, o miseri, physicorum dogmata fallant.
en ego gignendi Dominus ac restituendi
quod periit fluxitque potens, arentia quaeque
in veteres formas aut flore aut fronde reduco;
idque ipsum quandoque homini facturus, inani
surgat ut ex cinere structuraque pristina constet,
quae mihi pro meritis vel per tormenta rependat
crimina vel summae virtutis in arce coruscet
non peritura dehinc quacumque in sorte manebit.
interea, dum mixta viget substantia in unum,
sit memor auctoris proprii, veneretur et oret
artificem submissa suum. non condidit alter
halantis animae figmentum et corporis alter,
nec bona praesentis vitae numerosa gubernant
numina; non alius segetes et spicea farra
subpeditat deus ast [1] alius dat musta racemis
purpureumque gravi fundit de palmite sucum.
ipse ego sum, virides oleas pinguescere bacis
qui facio, Graia quas Pallade fingitis ortas,
et qui Lucinas tribuo nascentibus horas.
duplex lege mea per mutua foedera sexus
gignere amat subolem generisque propagine gaudet;
quem vos lascivis violatis amoribus ignem
et stupra vestra deae Veneris praetexitis umbra.
unus ego elementa rego, nec mole laboris,
ut miser infirmusve aliquis fragilisve, fatigor.
lux inmensa mihi est et non resolubilis aetas
sensibus et vestris haud intellecta vetustas.

[1] aut *Bergman, with some MSS. of both classes.*

---

[a] Athena (Minerva), patron-goddess of Athens, where the olive was regarded as her gift.

Canst thou know or infer what cunning workman it is that contrives this, or what force it is that acts within them? Poor mortals, let not the teachings of science deceive you. Lo, I, the Lord of creation, able to restore that which has perished and passed away, bring back all withered things to their old forms in flower or leaf; and one day I shall do the same for man, so that he shall rise from his lifeless ashes and his former frame be established, either, according to its deserts, to make payment to me through torment for its sins, or to shine in the seat of supreme goodness, and never again to die, in whatever state it shall remain. Meanwhile, as long as the union of twofold being lives, let it remember its creator and humbly worship and pray to its maker. It was not one who created the breathing soul and another the body, nor do manifold powers direct the blessings of the present life; it is not one God that provides corn-crops and the wheat with its ears, while another gives wine in the clusters of grapes, making the red juice flow from the laden vine-branch. I am He who makes the green olive-trees rich with their fruits, which you imagine took their origin from Grecian Pallas,[a] and assigns to babes for their birth Lucina's hours.[b] It is under my law that the two sexes in bond of union gladly beget young and rejoice in the continuance of their kind; but you dishonour this passion with wanton amours and screen your lewd acts under cover of your goddess Venus. I alone rule the elements, and I do not grow weary with the heavy toil like some poor weak mortal. I have infinite light, imperishable life, length of days which your thoughts cannot comprehend; therefore I need

[b] Lucina (or Juno Lucina) was goddess of birth.

inde ministeriis ad tot moderamina mundi
non egeo, nec participes sociosve requiro.
porro autem angelicas legiones, quas mea fecit
dextera, nosse meum est, et quae natura creatis
subsistat qualesque mihi serventur ad usus.
tu me praeterito meditaris numina mille,
quae simules parere meis virtutibus, ut me
per varias partes minuas, cui nulla recidi
pars aut forma potest, quia sum substantia simplex,
nec pars esse queo. solis divisio rebus
conpositis factisque subest; me nemo creavit,
ut scindi valeam cunctorum conditor unus.
crede, quod ex nihilo formavi, pars mea non est.
quare age, mortalis, soli mihi construe templum,
meque unum venerare Deum. caementa remitto,
et quae saxa Paros secat et quae Punica rupis,
quae viridis Lacedaemon habet maculosaque Synna;
nativum nemo scopuli mihi dedicet ostrum.
templum mentis amo, non marmoris: aurea in illo
fundamenta manent fidei; structura nivali
consurgit pietate nitens, tegit ardua culmen
iustitia, interius spargit sola picta rubenti
flore pudicitiae pudor almus et atria servat.
haec domus apta mihi est, haec me pulcherrima sedes
accipit, aeterno caelestique hospite digna.
nec novus hic locus est; fluxit mea gloria in artus
et lux vera Dei. Deus inlustravit alumnam
materiem, corpusque parens habitabile fecit

---

[a] Augustus claimed that he found Rome a city of brick and left it a city of marble. Under the emperors a very great variety of marbles, porphyries and other coloured stones was used, generally for facing the walls of temples and other

no aids for all this government of the world and want no partners nor associates. And further it is mine to know the legions of angels whom my hand created, the nature that subsists in my creatures, and the purposes for which I have them reserved. But thou dost pass me by and think of a thousand deities, pretending that they manifest themselves in my powers, so that by division into parts thou dost lessen me, from whom no part or form can be cut away, because my being is single and I cannot be a part. Only things put together and made are capable of division; none created me so that I should be able to be parted, I the one creator of all. Be assured that what I have formed out of nothing is no part of me. Come then, O mortal, build a temple to me alone and worship me as the one God. I seek no quarried stones, neither the rock that Paros or the Punic cliff cuts, nor that which green Lacedaemon or stained Synna possesses; let no man consecrate natural red stone to me.[a] I love a temple of the heart, not one of marble. In it stand firm the golden foundations of faith, the lofty building shines with holiness snow-white, righteousness covers its roof high up, and within it life-giving purity colours the floor with blushing flowers of modesty scattered over it, and keeps the courts. This is the house that befits me, the beauteous abode which I enter, worthy of its everlasting heavenly guest. Nor is it a new seat. My glory and the true light of God flowed into the flesh; God enlightened the material element which He nurtured, its creator made the body a fit dwelling for Himself, so that He could rest in a

[a] public buildings, and for floors. The marble from Synna (or Synnada, in Phrygia) was white with purple veins.

ipse sibi, placito ut posset requiescere templo.
condideram perfectum hominem; spectare superna
mandaram totis conversum sensibus in me
recto habitu celsoque situ et sublime tuentem;
sed despexit humum seque inclinavit ad orbis
divitias pepulitque meum de pectore numen.
restituendus erat mihimet; summissus in illum
Spiritus ipse meus descendit et edita limo
viscera divinis virtutibus informavit,
iamque hominem adsumptum summus Deus in deitatem
transtulit ac nostro docuit recalescere cultu."
scire velim praecepta Patris quibus auribus haec tu
accipias, Italae censor doctissime gentis.
an veterem tantum morem ratione relicta
eligis et dici id patitur sapientis acumen
ingeniumque viri? "potior mihi pristinus est mos
quam via iustitiae, pietas quam prodita caelo,
quamque fides veri, rectae quam regula sectae."
si, quidquid rudibus mundi nascentis in annis
mos habuit, sancte colere ac servare necesse est,
omne revolvamus sua per vestigia saeclum
usque ad principium, placeat damnare gradatim
quidquid posterius successor repperit usus.
orbe novo nulli subigebant arva coloni:
quid sibi aratra volunt? quid cura superflua rastri?
ilignis melius saturatur glandibus alvus.
primi homines cuneis scindebant fissile lignum:

---

[a] The censors in earlier times exercised a *cura morum*, which meant responsibility for seeing that established customs and ways of behaviour were observed. It amounted in reality to a vaguely defined control of morals.

[b] The poets were fond of depicting primitive man and his life, and he is often represented as eating acorns. At lines

temple that was acceptable to Him. I had created man perfect; I had bade him look at the things on high, turning towards me with all his thoughts, standing erect in upright posture and keeping his eyes on heaven; but he looked down on the ground, stooped to the world's riches, and drove my divinity from his heart. He had to be restored to me; my Spirit lowered himself, and coming down into him shaped with divine powers the flesh that was made from clay, and now God on high has taken on humanity and transformed man into godhead, and taught him to feel again the warmth of reverence for me."

I would fain know with what ears you receive these teachings of the Father, O most learned censor[a] of the Italian race. Do you lay reason aside and choose only the ancient usage? Does a wise man's keen intelligence allow him to say "The old custom is to be preferred in my eyes to the path of righteousness, the goodness revealed from heaven, the sure confidence in truth, the rule of right belief"? If we must needs scrupulously observe and keep up all that was customary in the rude years of the nascent world, let us roll all time back on its tracks right up to the beginning, and decide to condemn step by step all that successive experience has found out in later ages. When the world was new no cultivators brought the land into subjection.[b] What are ploughs good for, or the useless labour of the harrow? Better to sate the belly with acorns from the oak trees. The first men used to split their timber with

282 and 285 Prudentius has close verbal reminiscences of Virgil (*Georgics*, I, 125 and 144), and at 288–9 of Juvenal (*Satires*, 6, 2–3), where both are referring to primitive times.

decoquat in massam fervens strictura[a] secures
rursus et ad proprium restillet vena metallum.
induvias caesae pecudes et frigida parvas
praebebat spelunca domos: redeamus ad antra,
pellibus insutis hirtos sumamus amictus.
inmanes quondam populi feritate subacta
edomiti iam triste fremant iterumque ferinos
in mores redeant atque ad sua prisca recurrant.
praecipitet Scythica iuvenis pietate vietum
votivo de ponte patrem (sic mos fuit olim),[b]
caedibus infantum fument Saturnia sacra
flebilibusque truces resonent vagitibus arae.
ipsa casas fragili texat gens Romula culmo:
sic tradunt habitasse Remum. regalia faeno
fulcra supersternant aut pelle Libystidis ursae
conpositam chlamydem villoso corpore gestent.
talia Trinacrius ductor vel Tuscus habebant.
Roma antiqua sibi non constat versa per aevum

[a] The word *strictura* is explained by ancient writers in somewhat different ways. It is perhaps properly the mould into which the molten metal flows from the furnace and in which it solidifies. Prudentius suggests that the axes may as well go backwards through the processes of manufacture and smelting.

[b] A reference to the old phrase *sexagenarios de ponte*, the meaning of which was a matter of dispute among scholars in ancient times, as it still is. It seems to have been a *popular* belief that at one time men of sixty were actually thrown from the old wooden bridge (*pons sublicius*) at Rome into the Tiber; and the strange ceremony performed annually in May, when puppets called Argei were thrown from the bridge, was interpreted as a humane substitute for the original sacrifice. For discussion of ancient and modern theories see Sir James Frazer's edition of Ovid's *Fasti* (note on V, 621) and H. J. Rose's edition of Plutarch's *Roman Questions*, p. 98.

wedges; let our axes be reduced in the furnace from a hot moulding into a lump of metal, the iron dripping back again into its own ore.[a] Slaughtered oxen used to provide clothing, and a chilly cave a little home; so let us go back to the caverns and put on shaggy wraps of unsewn skins. Let nations that once were barbarous but had their savagery subdued and became civilised go back again to their harsh cries and their inhuman ways, returning to their former state. Let the young man, with a filial piety worthy of Scythia, fling his wrinkled old father as an offering from the bridge, for such was once the custom.[b] Let the rites of Saturn reek with the slaughter of infants[c] and the cruel altars resound with their weeping and wailing. Let the very race of Romulus weave huts of fragile straw (such they say[d] was the dwelling of Remus), spread their royal couches with hay, or wear on their hairy bodies a cloak made of an African bearskin. Such things the Trinacrian[e] or the Tuscan[f] leader used to have. Rome does not stay as she was long ago; she has

[c] This had never happened at Rome; but human sacrifice had been offered to a Phoenician deity (worshipped at Carthage) whom the Greeks and Romans identified with Kronos and Saturn.

[d] The "casa Romuli," a hut of straw with a thatched roof, which stood on the south-west corner of the Palatine Hill at Rome, was an object of great veneration, carefully restored when it was damaged by fire.

[e] Sicilian. The reference is to Acestes in the *Aeneid* (V, 36–37).

[f] Evander (*Aeneid*, VIII, 368). *Tuscus* is not a correct description of him, but at his city of Pallanteum he is "bounded by the Tuscan river" (the Tiber, *Aeneid*, VIII, 473) and is allied with the Etruscans, who have offered to make him their king (*ib.*, 505 ff.).

et mutata sacris, ornatu, legibus, armis.
multa colit quae non coluit sub rege Quirino;
instituit quaedam melius, nonnulla refugit,
et morem variare suum non destitit, et quae
pridem condiderat iura in contraria vertit.
quid mihi tu ritus solitos, Romane senator,
obiectas cum scita patrum populique frequenter
instabilis placiti sententia flexa novarit?
nunc etiam quotiens solitis decedere prodest
praeteritosque habitus cultu damnare recenti,
gaudemus conpertum aliquid tandemque retectum,
quod latuit; tardis semper processibus aucta
crescit vita hominis et longo proficit usu.
sic aevi mortalis habet se mobilis ordo,
sic variat natura vices: infantia repit,
infirmus titubat pueri gressusque animusque,
sanguine praecalido fervet nervosa iuventa,
mox stabilita venit maturi roboris aetas;
ultima consiliis melior, sed viribus aegra,
corpore subcumbit mentem purgata senectus.
his genus humanum per dissona tempora duxit
curriculis aevum mutabile, sic hebes inter
primitias mersumque solo ceu quadrupes egit;[1]
mox tenerum docili ingenio iamque artibus aptum
noscendis varia rerum novitate politum est;
inde tumens vitiis calidos adolevit in annos,
donec decocto solidaret robore vires.

[1] *Some MSS. of class B have*

mersumque solo titubavit et instar
quadrupedis pueri lactantia viscera traxit.

("it went unsteadily and like a child on all-fours dragged its infant body along"). *The two oldest MSS. are wanting.*

changed as time passed, making alterations in her worship, dress, laws, and arms. She practises much that she did not practise when Quirinus [a] was her king. Some things she has ordered for the better, some she has abandoned; she has never ceased to change her usage, and has turned long-established laws to the opposite. Why, senator of Rome, do you bring up accustomed usages against me, when many a time a decision has not stood fast and a change of mind with regard to it has altered decrees of senate and people? Even now, whenever it is for our benefit to depart from wonted ways and reject manners of the past for a newer style, we are glad that something which was unknown before has been discovered and at last brought to light; ever by slow advances does human life grow and develop, improving by long experience. Such is the changing succession of ages in man, such, one after another, the variations of his nature. Infancy creeps; the child's step, like its purpose, is weak and unsteady; vigorous youth burns with hot blood; then comes the steadfast age of ripe strength; and last of all old age, better in counsel but feeble in energy, declines in body though its mind is cleared. By just such stages has the race of men led its changeful life through differing periods of time. Unintelligent in its first efforts and sunk on the ground, it lived as it were on all fours; then in its boyhood, having a mind that could learn and becoming capable of acquiring skills, it attained refinement by trying different novelties. Next it grew up into the hot years of passion, swelling the while with corruptions, till it worked off the excess of vigour and made its strength firm. Now the time

[a] Romulus became the god Quirinus.

tempus adest ut iam sapiat divina, serenae
mentis consilio vivacius abdita sollers
quaerere et aeternae tandem invigilare saluti.
quamquam, si tantus amor est et cura vetusti
moris et a prisco placet haud discedere ritu,
exstat in antiquis exemplum nobile libris,
iam tunc diluvii sub tempore vel prius uni
inservisse Deo gentem quae prima recentes
incoluit terras vacuoque habitavit in orbe;
unde genus ducit nostrae porrecta propago
stirpis et indigenae pietatis iura reformat.
sed quia Romanis loquimur de cultibus, ipsum
sanguinis Hectorei populum probo tempore longo
non multos coluisse deos rarisque sacellis
contentum paucas posuisse in collibus aras.
innumeros post deinde deos virtute subactis
urbibus et claris peperit sibi Roma triumphis;
inter fumantes templorum armata ruinas
dextera victoris simulacra hostilia cepit
et captiva domum venerans ceu numina vexit.
hoc signum rapuit bimaris de strage Corinthi,
illud ab incensis in praedam sumpsit Athenis,
quasdam victa dedit capitis Cleopatra canini
effigies, quasdam domitis Hammonis harenis
Syrtica cornutas facies habuere tropaea.
Roma triumphantis quotiens ducis inclyta currum
plausibus excepit, totiens altaria divum
addidit et spoliis sibimet nova numina fecit—
numina, quae patriis cum moenibus eruta nullum

---

[a] The Romans, as being traditionally of Trojan origin.

[b] The Egyptians represented Anubis (who figured in the ceremonies of Isis; *cf.* Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, XI, 11) with the head of a dog, and Ammon with the head or at

is come for it to understand things divine, having skill, with the thought of a mind unclouded, more actively to search out mysteries and at last to watch over its eternal well-being. And yet, if there is such fondness and solicitude for the old-established way and such reluctance to depart from former usage, there is the famous instance in the ancient books which shows that even at the time of the flood, or before it, the people which first inhabited the young earth, dwelling in an empty world, already served one God. From them our stock in long descent draws its birth, and now it restores the rule of their native devotion. But since we are speaking of Roman worships, I show that the very people of Hector's blood[a] for many a day did not worship many gods but was content with a shrine here and there and set but few altars on its hills. Then afterwards as her valour conquered cities and won her famous triumphs Rome got herself countless gods; amid the smoking ruins of temples the victor's armed right hand took her enemies' images and carried them home in captivity, worshipping them as divinities. One figure she seized from the ruins of Corinth by the two seas, another she took for booty from burning Athens; the defeat of Cleopatra gave her some dog-headed figures,[b] and when she conquered the sands of Ammon there were horned heads among her trophies from the African desert. Whenever illustrious Rome welcomed with her applause the car of a triumphing general, she added altars of gods and of her spoils made herself fresh divinities,—divinities! though they could not give protection

[a] least the horns of a ram (*cf.* Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, V, 327–328).

praesidium potuere suis adferre sacellis!
cernis ut antiqui semper vestigia moris
gressibus incertis varie titubasse probentur
adsciscendo deos maioribus inconpertos,
seque peregrina sub religione dicasse,
nec ritus servasse suos? quodcumque sacrorum est
exulat externumque inimicam venit in urbem.
frustra igitur solitis, prava observatio, inhaeres:
non est mos patrius, quem diligis, inproba, non est.
sed sollers orator ait fataliter urbem
sortitam quonam genio proprium exigat aevum.
" cunctis nam populis seu moenibus inditur," inquit,
" aut fatum aut genius nostrarum more animarum,
quae sub disparili subeunt nova corpora sorte."
iam primum qui sit genius vel qui status illi
conpetat ignoro, quid possit et unde oriatur,
spiritus informis sine corpore formave et ulla
sit species, et quid sapiat, quae munera curet.
contra animas hominum venis vitalibus intus

---

[a] In this passage and elsewhere there are echoes of Tertullian's *Apologeticus*, where *cf.* chapters 6 and 25. Different causes led to the introduction of external cults into Rome. Tradition said that in early times the Romans when attacking a town would " evoke " its god or goddess, promising equal or greater honour at Rome (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* XXVIII, 18; *cf.* Livy, V. 21). The Magna Mater was brought to Rome from Phrygia at a time of national difficulty, because on consultation of the Sibylline Books the senate was advised that her presence would drive Hannibal out of Italy (Livy, XXIX, 10). Other worships came in as a result of wider and wider contacts with foreign peoples. The Egyptian and other oriental cults were long purely private and not recognised by the state, and some of them at least were at first forbidden to Roman citizens. There is nothing to suggest that Symmachus himself was a follower of any of these. It was for the old formal rites of the state religion that he stood (*cf.* Dill, p. 16).

to their own shrines, since they were uprooted along with their native cities. Do you not see how the steps of ancient custom turn out always to have wavered this way and that with unsteady gait, adopting gods unknown to former generations, how it is shown to have devoted itself to some foreign religion instead of keeping up its own observances? Every form of worship there is has left its home and come as an alien into an enemy's city. It is vain therefore, O perverse reverence, to cling to wonted rites; the custom thou lovest, reprobate, is not inherited from our forefathers. No, it is not.[a]

But our clever orator says that Rome was allotted by destiny a genius under which to live her own life.[b] For all peoples and cities, he says, have imparted to them a destiny or genius, just in the way that our souls, entering into our bodies when they are new, have different characters assigned to them.[c] Now in the first place I know not what a genius is or what condition of being is appropriate to it, nor what are its powers or its origin, whether it is a spirit without form or body, or a form or a figure of any kind, what are its thoughts, what functions it attends to. On the other hand I know that the souls of men spread

But the oriental cults had gained a great hold because they appealed to the emotions as the state religion did not, and they were in some ways far more spiritual.

[b] See lines 71 ff.

[c] The "genius" of each man can be thought of as that which makes him what he is, his personality or self conceived as a spirit somehow distinguishable (though inseparable) from him. *Cf.* Horace, *Epistles*, II, 2, 183–189, and see Bailey, *Phases in the Religion of Ancient Rome*, pp. 51–52 and 150. Similarly the *populus Romanus* has its genius, which makes it what it is as a nation, distinct from other nations.

sic interfusas intellego, sanguis ut ex his
accipiat motumque levem tenerumque vaporem,
unde pererratis vegetet praecordia membris,
frigida succendat, riget arida, dura relaxet.
sic hominis vitam sibi temperat atque gubernat
vivida mens, quam tu ficto conponere temptas
murorum [1] genio, qui nusquam est nec fuit umquam.
quin et corporibus versat mens viva regendis
summum consilium, fida ut tutacula nudis
invalidisque paret, metuenda pericula vitet,
utile prospiciat, varias agitetur ad artes,
consultet cui se domino submittat et orbis
quem putet auctorem, quem rerum summa sequatur.
at tuus hic urbis genius, dicas volo, quando
coepit adhuc parvae primum se infundere Romae?
fluxit ab uberibus nemorosa in valle lupinis
infantesque aluit, dum nascitur ipse, gemellos?
an cum vulturibus volitans ignota per auras
umbra repentinam traxit de nube figuram?
culminibus summis sedet, an penetralia servat?
instituit mores et iura forensia condit,
an castrorum etiam fossis intervenit, acres
cogit ad arma viros, lituis ciet, urget in hostem?
quae quis non videat sapientum digna cachinno?
fingamus tamen esse aliquam, quae talia curet,
umbram sive animam, per quam respublica fatum

[1] *The true reading is here derived only from certain MSS. of Bergman's class B. The others have* membrorum.

---

[a] There are in these lines indistinct echoes of medical theory—the opposite "elements" (hot, cold, moist, dry) and the animating "pneuma" (see Clifford Allbutt, *Greek Medicine at Rome*).

[b] Romulus and Remus, who according to the legend were suckled by a she-wolf.

through the life-giving veins within them in such wise that the blood receives from them its nimble motion and gentle heat, whereby passing through all the members it quickens the inward parts, warming the cold, moistening the dry, loosening the hard. In this way the living spirit tempers and regulates the life of man for itself [a]; but *you* try to compare it with an imaginary genius of the walls, which does not exist nor ever has existed. And further, for the rule of our bodies the living spirit exercises sovereign thought, so as to furnish sure protection for their nakedness and weakness, avoid dangers which they must fear, provide what is to their advantage, bestir itself to acquire different skills, take thought to what lord it shall subject itself and whom it shall consider to be the creator of the world, whom the universe obeys. But this genius of the city, of which you speak, tell me, pray, when did it first begin to enter the little Rome? Did it flow from the wolf's udders in the wooded valley and nourish the twin children [b] in its own birth? Or did it fly through the air with the vultures,[c] as a spirit unperceived, and suddenly take shape from a cloud? Does it sit on the housetops, or keep to an inner chamber? Does it appoint laws and establish justice in the courts, or does it present itself in the ditches of the camp also, gathering bold warriors to arms, rousing them with the trumpet, pressing them against the foe? Anyone would see that all this deserves the laughter of the wise. Yet let us imagine that there is some ghost or spirit which attends to such things and through which the commonwealth has derived its destiny and

[c] The vultures which appeared to Romulus and Remus before the building of Rome (Livy, I, 6–7).

hauserit et calidis animetur tota medullis.
cur non haec eadem de religione colenda
consultat? cur non suspectat libera caelum?
cur sibi praescriptum non commutabile fatum
ut captiva putat? genesis cur vincula fingit?
cui iam nolle licet quod tunc voluisse licebat,
erroresque abolere suos ac flectere sensus.
sic septingentis erravit circiter annis
lubricaque et semper dubitans quae forma placeret
imperii, quae regnandi foret aequa potestas.
regius exortam iam tunc habuit status urbem
non sine grandaevis curarum in parte locatis.
mox proceres de stirpe senum tractasse videmus
clavum consilii; plebeias inde catervas
conlatas patribus mixtim dicionibus aequis
imperitasse diu belloque et pace regendis.
consule nobilitas viguit, plebs fisa tribuno est.
displicet hic subito status et bis quina creantur
summorum procerum fastigia, quos duodeni
circumstant fasces simul et sua quemque securis.
rursus se geminis reddit ductoribus omnis
publica res et consulibus dat condere fastos.
ultima sanguineus turbavit saecla triumvir.

---

[a] A round number for the period from the traditional date of the foundation of Rome (753 B.C.) to the establishment of the principate by Augustus.

[b] The first success of the plebeians in their struggle for political equality with the patricians was marked by the creation (traditionally in 494 B.C.) of *tribuni plebis*, whose first function was to protect them from oppressive acts of patrician magistrates, and whose persons were declared inviolable (Livy, II, 33). At this time no plebeian could become consul.

[c] The *decemviri* (451–449 B.C., Livy, III, 32). The *fasces*, bundles of rods enclosing an axe, were the symbol of supreme

the life that warms all its being: why does it not also take thought about the practice of religion? Why does it not look up in freedom to the heavens? Why, like a prisoner, does it suppose that an unchangeable destiny has been laid down for it and imagine itself in bondage to its horoscope? For now it is free to refuse what formerly it was free to will, and to wipe out its errors and change its sentiments. So for some seven hundred years [a] it drifted unsteadily, never knowing what form of rule it wanted or what was the just authority to govern. At the time when the city took its rise it was under a monarchic constitution, though the elders too were partners in administration; then we see that nobles of the senatorial stock handled the helm of policy; next the multitudes of the commons, joined in company with the Fathers, ruled long with equal authority in the direction both of war and peace, the strength of the nobles lying in the consul, while the commons placed their trust in the tribune.[b] Suddenly this constitution lost favour and ten chief dignitaries [c] were appointed from the greatest nobles, with twelve fasces about them, and for each one his axe. Once more the commonwealth as a whole put itself again into the hands of a pair of leaders and allowed consuls to make up the register [d]; and the final period was troubled by a bloodstained trium-

authority, typifying the power of scourging and putting to death. They were carried by lictors.

[d] Of the names of the yearly magistrates. The consulship was restored in 449 B.C. and was open to plebeians from 366. Prudentius ignores a further variation: in most of the years between 444 and 366 "military tribunes with consular power" were substituted for consuls.

fluctibus his olim fatum geniusve animusve
publicus erravit; tandem deprendere rectum
doctus iter caput augustum diademate cinxit
appellans patrem patriae, populi atque senatus
rectorem, qui militiae sit ductor et idem
dictator censorque bonus morumque magister,
tutor opum, vindex scelerum, largitor honorum.
quod si tot rerum gradibus totiens variatis
consiliis aegre tandem pervenit ad illud
quod probet ac sancto reverentia publica servet
foedere, quid dubitat divina agnoscere iura
ignorata prius sibimet tandemque retecta?
gratemur, iam non dubitat; nam subdita Christo
servit Roma Deo cultus exosa priores.
Romam dico viros, quos mentem credimus urbis,
non genium, cuius frustra simulatur imago.
quamquam cur genium Romae mihi fingitis unum,
cum portis, domibus, thermis, stabulis soleatis
adsignare suos genios perque omnia membra
urbis perque locos geniorum milia multa
fingere, ne propria vacet angulus ullus ab umbra?
restat ut et fatum similis dementia cunctis
aedibus inponat, paries ut quisque sub astro
fundatus structusque suo, qua sorte maneret,
quando autem rueret, primis acceperit horis.
adscribunt saxis Lachesis male fortia fila,
tectorumque trabes fusis pendere rotatis

---

[a] Of Octavian, Antony, and Lepidus, formed in 43 B.C.

[b] Julius Caesar was dictator, but Augustus in organising the principate deliberately avoided the title, nor did he assume the censorship, though some of his early successors did so. The princeps could in fact exercise the powers of the censor without holding the office.

virate.[a] Such were the waves on which long ago the fate or genius or spirit of the nation drifted to and fro. At last it learned to discern the right way and encircled an august head with a diadem, calling its wearer Father of his Country, director of people and senate, one who was to be leader in war, and dictator also and good censor [b] and master of morals, to guard the nation's wealth, to punish crimes and dispense offices of honour. Now if by all these stages, changing its mind so often, it attained at last only with difficulty to something which the nation's respect can approve and keep by inviolate covenant, why does it hesitate to recognise the authority of God, which was unknown to it before and only at last disclosed? Let us wish it joy, for it no longer hesitates now. Rome has subjected herself to Christ and serves God, loathing her former worships. And by Rome I mean her *men*, in whom we believe the city's mind lies; not her genius, which is a vain, unreal fancy. And yet why do I find you pagans imagining but one genius of Rome, seeing that you are wont to attribute to gates, houses, public baths, taverns, each its own genius, and throughout every part of the city at every point imagine thousands of geniuses, so that no corner shall be without its own ghost? It only remains for a like delusion to set a destiny too on every building, so that each wall shall have been laid and erected under its own star, and in its first hours assigned the fortune under which it should stand, and the time of its fall. They ascribe to stones the weak threads of Lachesis [c] and believe that our roof-timbers depend on her whirling spindles,

[c] One of the three Fates (Parcae) who are represented as spinning the thread of destiny (*e.g.* in Catullus, 64, 305 ff.).

credunt, atque ipsis tribuunt decreta tigillis,
ceu distet cuius stellae sit fraxinus ortu
eruta, quae summum conscenderet ardua culmen.
denique nulla hominum res est, nulla actio mundi,
cui non fatalem memorent incumbere sortem.
quae quia constituunt, dicant cur condita sit lex
bis sex in tabulis aut cur rubrica minetur,
quae prohibet peccare reos, quos ferrea fata
cogunt ad facinus et inevitabile mergunt.
quin et velle adigunt pravum insinuantia votum,
ne liceat miseris vetitum committere nolle.
cedite, si pudor est, gladiumque retundite vestrum,
aspera nil meritos poenis plectentia iura;
antrum carcereum dissolvite, corpora sub quo
agminis innocui fato peccante tenetis.
nemo nocens, si fata regunt quod vivitur ac fit:
immo nocens quicumque volens quod non licet audet,
alterutrum quia velle suum est nec fata reatum
inponunt homini, sed fit reus ipse suopte
arbitrio, placitumque nefas et facta rependit
inpia suppliciis merito non sorte peremptus.
quisque putat fato esse locum, sciat omniparentem
nosse Deum nulli vetitum fatalibus astris,
nec mathesis praescripto aliquo pia vota repelli.
spirat enim maiora animus seque altius effert
sideribus transitque vias et nubila fati,

---

[a] The codification of customary law, civil and criminal, made by the Decemvirs at the middle of the 5th century B.C. It was looked upon with great reverence by later ages as the foundation of law. Parts of it have survived through being quoted by writers. See Warmington, *Remains of Old Latin*, vol. III (in this series).

attributing her decrees to the very beams; as if it made a difference at what star's rising the ash-tree was uprooted, which was to mount high to the roof-top. In fact there is no human affair, no process of the world, on which they do not say there lies a predestined lot. But since this is what they lay down, let them tell us why law was established on the Twelve Tables,[a] why a statute which forbids wrong-doing holds out its threats, when it is an iron fate that drives wrongdoers to commit the crime and plunges them into it perforce. Indeed it compels them to will the crime by insinuating into them a wicked desire, so that the poor wretches shall not have freedom to refuse to do the thing that is forbidden. Away with you, if you have any shame! Blunt the edge of your sword, ye cruel laws which punish innocent men! Destroy the dungeon where you hold imprisoned the persons of a multitude who are guiltless, since it is fate that does the wrong! No man is guilty if it is fate that rules all life and action. No, the guilty man is he who dares of his own will to do what is forbidden, because to will one or the other is in his own power and it is no fate that imposes guilt on man, but he becomes guilty by his own choice and pays for the crime he willed and the wicked deeds he did, owing the punishment which cuts him off to his desert and not to fate. Whosoever thinks there is any room for fate, let him understand that no man is prevented by a destiny in the stars from knowing God the Father of all, and that good desires are not driven away by some ordinance of astrology. For the soul breathes a nobler spirit and rises higher than the stars, passing beyond the clouded paths of fate. Under its feet are

et momenta premit pedibus, quaecumque putantur
figere propositam natali tempore sortem.
huc ades, omne hominum genus, huc concurrite et urbes:
lux inmensa vocat, factorem noscite vestrum!
libera secta patet: nil sunt fatalia: vel si
sunt aliqua, opposito vanescunt irrita Christo.
sed multi duxere dei per prospera Romam,
quos colit ob meritum magnis donata triumphis.
ergo age, bellatrix, quae vis subiecerit, ede,
Europam Libyamque tibi; dic nomina divum.
Iuppiter ut Cretae domineris, Pallas ut Argis,
Cynthius ut Delphis, tribuerunt omine dextro.
Isis Nilicolas, Rhodios Cytherea reliquit,
venatrix Ephesum virgo, Mars dedidit Hebrum,
destituit Thebas Bromius, concessit et ipsa
Iuno suos Phrygiis servire nepotibus Afros,
et quam subiectis dominam dea gentibus esse,
si qua fata sinant, iam tum tenditque fovetque
iussit Romuleis addictam vivere frenis.
perfidiane deum indigenum cecidere tot urbes,
destructaeque iacent ipsis prodentibus arae?

---

[a] Another argument used by Symmachus. See lines 75 ff.

[b] Jupiter (Zeus) in the Greek mythology is associated with Crete as an infant, being either born there or concealed from his father Saturn (*cf.* I. 627) in a cave on the island. Argos here stands for Greece in general, as in the *Aeneid* (II, 95, VI, 838).

[c] Apollo, so called from Cynthus, a mountain in the Aegean isle of Delos, where he was said to have been born. Delphi was his seat.

[d] The Egyptian goddess mentioned at I, 629.

[e] Venus (Aphrodite), anciently worshipped on the island of Cythera; but she had no particular connection with Rhodes.

[f] Diana. *Cf.* 525 and *Acts*, 19, 24 ff.

all the motions which are supposed to fasten on it a lot predestined at the hour of birth. Come hither, all ye race of men! Assemble here, ye cities also! Infinite light calls you; learn to know your creator. The path of freedom is open to follow. Fate is nothing; or if it is something it is annulled and vanishes away when Christ confronts it.

But her many gods have led Rome from success to success, and she worships them for their good service in that they have given her great victories.[a] Come then, warrior city, say what power it was that subdued Europe and Africa to thee; tell us the names of the gods. Jupiter by his good favour gave thee to rule over Crete,[b] Pallas over Argos, the Cynthian [c] over Delphi. Isis [d] gave up the people of the Nile, she of Cythera [e] the Rhodians, the huntress maid [f] resigned Ephesus to thee, and Mars the Hebrus.[g] Bromius [h] abandoned Thebes, Juno herself granted that her Africans should serve a race of Phrygian descent, and that city,[i] which to make mistress of subject nations, "did but the fates allow, was even then the goddess's cherished aim," she bade live under the dominion of the sons of Romulus. Was it by the treachery of their own native gods that all these cities fell? Do their altars lie in ruins through their own betrayal? What loyalty! What sacred

[g] A river of Thrace (the Maritza). The Greek god Ares, with whom the Italian Mars is identified, is much associated with Thrace.

[h] Dionysus (*cf.* I, 122 ff.). The story of the unsuccessful efforts of Pentheus, king of Thebes, to exclude his worship there is the subject of Euripides' *Bacchae*.

[i] Carthage, in the *Aeneid* her favourite seat. The words "dea gentibus esse . . . fovetque" are taken from the *Aeneid* (I, 17–18).

o pietas, o sancta fides! traduxit alumnos
maiestas infida locos, et creditur istis
numinibus quae transfugio meruere sacrari!
an voluit servare suos luctataque multum
religio infestas temptavit pellere turmas
Romanis obnixa globis, sed fortior illam
virtus luctifico camporum in pulvere fregit?
immo ita est, armis et viribus indiga veri
victa superstitio est et inanem gloria fugit.
sed nec difficilis fuit aut satis ardua genti
natae ad procinctus victoria frangere inertes
molliaque omnigenum colla inclinare deorum.
num cum Dictaeis bellum Corybantibus asper
Samnitis Marsusque levi sudore gerebat?
num mastigophoris oleoque et gymnadis arte
unctis pugilibus miles pugnabat Etruscus?
nec petaso insignis poterat Lacedaemone capta
Mercurius servare suas de clade palaestras.
Appenninicolam peditem Cybeleius hostis
congressu excipiens Asiam defendere et Idam
qui potuit cogente acies in proelia Gallo?
Idalias nisi forte rosas, laurum citharoedi
vatis, silvicolae calamos arcumque puellae
dedere servitio calcataque sacra domare
difficilis operis fuit inmensique laboris.

---

[a] The Corybantes were properly attendants on Cybele, but commonly confused with the Curetes who protected the infant Zeus in the cave on Mt. Dicte in Crete.

[b] The typical Roman of earlier days had a great contempt for the Greek cult of athletics. *Mastigophori* ("whip-bearers") were a kind of police under the superintendents of public games.

[c] Mercury in his capacity as the gods' messenger is represented with the broad hat worn by Greek travellers. He is mentioned here as being patron of athletic exercises.

faith! These great ones proved faithless and delivered over places they once fostered! Trust is put now in powers which have earned their worship by desertion! Or did these holy ones seek to save their peoples and struggle hard in an effort to drive off the squadrons that attacked them, striving against the Roman companies, but did stouter valour break them in the woeful dust of the field? Yea, so it is. Superstition devoid of truth was overcome by arms and strength, glory fled from it because it was empty. But it was no difficult or very hard victory for a race that was born for battles, to break such feeble forces and bend the soft necks of these miscellaneous gods. Was it *war*, costing such slight exertion, that the rough Samnite and Marsian waged with the Corybantes of Dicte? [a] Did the Etruscan soldiery *fight* with constables or with boxers [b] smeared with oil according to the athlete's art? Even Mercury of the broad hat [c] could not save his wrestling-schools from defeat when Lacedaemon was taken. How could an enemy who was a follower of Cybele, meeting in conflict the footmen of the Apennines, defend Asia and Ida,[d] with a eunuch-priest driving his forces into battle? For surely to subject the roses of Idalium,[e] the harper-prophet's bay,[f] the arrows and bow of the woodland maid, to subdue their rites and trample them under foot, was no hard task involving boundless toil. It was only a

[a] A mountain in Phrygia where Cybele was worshipped. Her priests were called *Galli*.

[e] Roses are associated with Venus (Aphrodite). Idalium, a mountain in Cyprus, was sacred to her.

[f] Apollo was patron of music, and often represented with a lyre; he also inspired human prophets with a knowledge of the will of Jupiter.

fluctibus Actiacis signum symphonia belli
Aegypto dederat, clangebat bucina contra.
institerant tenues cumbae fragilesque phaseli
inter turritas Memphitica rostra Liburnas:
nil potuit Serapis deus et latrator Anubis.
stirpis Iuleae ductore exercitus ardens
praevaluit, gelido quem miserat Algidus axe.
non armata Venus, non tunc clipeata Minerva
venere auxilio, non divum degener ordo
et patria extorris Romanis adfuit armis,
victus et ipse prius inimica nec agmina iuvit,
si tamen antiquum norat retinere dolorem.
sed dicis legisse deos ubi sanctior usus
templorum cultu celebri sine fine maneret,
Aeneadumque ultro victricia signa virorum
regis amore Numae nullo cogente secutos.
num Diomedis item tentoria et acris Ulixi
castra volens Pallas caesis custodibus arcis
legit, ubi umenti sudaret maesta sigillo?

---

[a] Virgil (*Aeneid* VIII, 696) and Propertius (III, 11, 43, which Prudentius perhaps echoes here) represent Cleopatra at the battle of Actium (in 31 B.C.) as calling on her forces with the *sistrum*. It was a kind of metallic rattle (described by Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, XI, 4) which was used in the worship of Isis.

[b] *Liburnae* were in fact light vessels, and Antony's fleet had heavier ships than that of Octavian.

[c] Octavian (later known as Augustus) was the grandson of Julius Caesar's sister, and adopted by will as his son.

musical instrument that gave Egypt the signal for battle on the waters at Actium,[a] while on the other side the trumpet blared. Slight boats and frail yachts pressed their Egyptian rams amid towered galleys,[b] but their god Serapis and their barking Anubis were powerless. The eager army led by a scion of the Julian stock[c] and sent by Algidus[d] from a cold clime outmatched them. No Venus in arms, no Minerva with her shield[e] came then to help, no line of renegade gods in exile from their home stood by the Roman forces. Conquered themselves before, they did not even aid our enemies' columns—supposing that they were capable of keeping up their old resentment! But you say the gods chose the place where the possession of their temples with crowds of worshippers would remain to them without end more inviolate; and that of their own will they followed the victorious standards of the warrior stock of Aeneas unforced, from love of king Numa.[f] Did Pallas similarly choose of her own will the tents of Diomede and the camp of fierce Ulysses when the guards of her stronghold were slain, there to wet her image with a sweat of sorrow?[g] Or

[a] A part of the Alban Hills in Latium, to which Horace refers as "cold" and "snowy." The phrase is meant here to enforce the contrast with the "effeminate" Egyptians.

[b] The *aegis* (literally "goat-skin") associated with Jupiter and with Athena (Minerva) is described sometimes as a tasselled garment (*cf. Iliad*, II, 447 ff., V, 738 ff.), sometimes as a piece of armour (either a shield or a breastplate. *Cf. Aeneid* VIII, 435). It serves to gather tempests or to rouse or dismay men.

[c] See note on line 47. Symmachus does not in fact use the argument here ascribed to him.

[d] The reference is to the theft of the Palladium (see note on I, 195) from Troy by Ulysses and Diomede (*Aeneid* II, 163–175).

aut quotiens ductor Macetum fortissimus altos
templorum cineres victis cumulavit Amyclis,
optarunt praedis domini se numina capta
misceri Assyriaeque vehi Babylonis ad arcem?
non fero Romanum nomen sudataque bella
et titulos tanto quaesitos sanguine carpi.
detrahit invictis legionibus et sua Romae
praemia deminuit, qui, quidquid fortiter actum est,
adscribit Veneri, palmam victoribus aufert.
frustra igitur currus summo miramur in arcu
quadriiugos stantesque duces in curribus altis
Fabricios, Curios, hinc Drusos, inde Camillos,
sub pedibusque ducum captivos poplite flexo
ad iuga depressos manibusque in terga retortis
et suspensa gravi telorum fragmina trunco,
si Brennum, Antiochum, Persen, Pyrrhum, Mithridatem
Flora, Matuta, Ceres et Larentina subegit.
" his tamen auspicibus successus dextra dederunt
omina laetificos et felix adfuit ales."
quid sibi vult virtus, quid gloria, si Corvinum

---

[a] Alexander the Great, who after securing supremacy over Greece embarked on his career of conquest in the East. He died at Babylon. Amyclae was an ancient town near Sparta, and had a temple of Apollo which was a religious centre of some importance. It does not itself figure in Alexander's career, but poets often use the name to represent Sparta, and Prudentius uses it here for Greece in general. Alexander did not behave towards Greece in the way here implied, though he did destroy the city of Thebes.

[b] A " trophy " (*tropaeum*) such as that described by Virgil in the *Aeneid* (XI, 5–11) where Aeneas sets up as an offering

whenever the bold leader of the Macedonians[a] in victory over Amyclae heaped high the ashes of the temples, did the captured deities choose to be included in their master's plunder and carried to a stronghold in Assyrian Babylon? I will not have the fame of Rome, her hard-fought wars, her trophies gained with so much blood, belittled. He disparages the unconquerable legions and detracts from the prizes Rome has won, who ascribes to Venus all her brave deeds and robs the victors of the palm. Vain then is our wonder at the four-horse chariots on the top of a triumphal arch, the generals standing in their chariots high up, a Fabricius, a Curius, here a Drusus, there a Camillus, and under the generals' feet the prisoners on bent knee, bowed under the weight of the yoke, their hands bound behind their backs, and the broken weapons hung on a heavy-laden tree-trunk,[b]—if it was Flora or Matuta or Ceres or Larentina who subdued Brennus, Antiochus, Perses, Pyrrhus, and Mithridates.[c] Yet, you say, under their lead favourable omens brought gladdening victories and the bird of good fortune was on our side. What is the meaning of valour or glory, if Corvinus was

to Mars an oak-trunk bearing the arms of his dead enemy Mezentius.

[c] Brennus was the leader of the Gauls who sacked Rome in 390 B.C. (See note on 688). Antiochus III of Syria was defeated by L. Scipio in 190 B.C.; Perses or Perseus the last king of Macedon, conquered by L. Aemilius Paulus in 168 B.C.; Pyrrhus king of Epirus, who invaded South Italy and Sicily and was defeated in 275 B.C.; Mithridates king of Pontus, who after a long contest with Rome was finally defeated by Pompeius and put an end to his life in 63 B.C. (Acca) Larenta or Larentina was an obscure divinity, though in legend she appears as a woman who took charge of the infant Romulus and Remus (Livy, I, 4).

corvus Apollineus pinna vel gutture iuvit?
sed tamen hic corvus cur defuit exitiali
forte die, infaustas tegerent cum funera Cannas
oppeteretque super congesta cadavera consul?
cur Cremerae in campis cornice vel oscine parra
nemo deum monuit perituros Marte sinistro
tercentum Fabios vix stirpe superstite in uno?
nullane tristificis Tritonia noctua Carrhis
advolitans praesto esse deam praenuntia Crasso
prodidit, aut Paphiam niveae vexere columbae,
cuius inauratum tremeret gens Persica limbum?
sed video quae te moveant exempla vetustae
virtutis: dicis domitum terraque marique
orbem, res laetas et prospera quaeque retexis,
mille triumphorum memoras ex ordine pompas
ductaque per mediam spoliorum fercula Romam.
vis dicam quae causa tuos, Romane, labores
in tantum extulerit, quis gloria fotibus aucta
sic cluat inpositis ut mundum frenet habenis?
discordes linguis populos et dissona cultu
regna volens sociare Deus subiungier uni
imperio, quidquid tractabile moribus esset,

---

[a] Story told how M. Valerius in 349 B.C. defeated a gigantic Gaul in single combat: a crow settled on his helmet and attacked the face and eyes of the Gaul (Livy, VII, 26). This won him the cognomen Corvus, which in later generations appears as Corvinus.

[b] Where Hannibal inflicted the never-forgotten defeat on the Romans in 216 B.C. The consul L. Aemilius Paullus was killed, though not in the circumstances which Prudentius suggests (Livy, XXII, 49).

[c] According to tradition the Fabian clan by itself undertook a campaign against the Etruscan city of Veii in 477 B.C. All the 306 fighting men were killed in battle near the river Cremera and the only survivor of the clan was a young boy (Livy, II, 48–50).

aided by one of Apollo's crows with wing or beak? [a] But after all why was this crow missing on the fatal day when corpses covered the ill-starred ground at Cannae [b] and a consul met his death on top of a pile of bodies? Why on the plains of the Cremera did no god give warning by rook or lapwing's prophetic cry that the three hundred Fabii were to perish in luckless battle and their stock scarce to survive in a single person? [c] Did none of Tritonia's owls fly up at sorrowful Carrhae [d] to tell Crassus that the goddess was by his side, no snow-white doves bring the Lady of Paphos [e] that the Persian race might tremble before her gold-wrought girdle?

But I see the instances of ancient valour which move you. You say the world was conquered on land and sea, you recount every success and victory, and recall a thousand triumphal processions one after another, with their loads of spoil passing through the midst of Rome. Shall I tell you, Roman, what cause it was that so exalted your labours, what it was that nursed your glory to such a height of fame that it has put rein and bridle on the world? God, wishing to bring into partnership peoples of different speech and realms of discordant manners, determined that all the civilised world should be harnessed to one

[d] In Mesopotamia, where M. Licinius Crassus and his army were destroyed by the Parthians in 53 B.C. Originally subject to Persia, they had won a kingdom which included Persia and extended as far west as the Euphrates. Tritonia is a name of Athena (Minerva).

[e] Venus. Doves were sacred to her (*cf. Aeneid*, VI, 193). Her magic girdle is mentioned in Homer (*Iliad*, XIV, 214 ff.) as inspiring love and desire; but Aphrodite was at some places a warlike goddess, and there was a temple of Venus Victrix at Rome.

concordique iugo retinacula mollia ferre
constituit, quo corda hominum coniuncta teneret
religionis amor; nec enim fit copula Christo
digna, nisi inplicitas societ mens unica gentes.
sola Deum novit concordia, sola benignum
rite colit tranquilla Patrem: placidissimus illum
foederis humani consensus prosperat orbi,
seditione fugat, saevis exasperat armis,
munere pacis alit, retinet pietate quieta.
omnibus in terris quas continet occidualis
oceanus roseoque Aurora inluminat ortu,
miscebat Bellona furens mortalia cuncta
armabatque feras in vulnera mutua dextras.
hanc frenaturus rabiem Deus undique gentes
inclinare caput docuit sub legibus isdem
Romanosque omnes fieri, quos Rhenus et Hister,
quos Tagus aurifluus, quos magnus inundat Hiberus,
corniger Hesperidum quos interlabitur et quos
Ganges alit tepidique lavant septem ostia Nili.
ius fecit commune pares et nomine eodem
nexuit et domitos fraterna in vincla redegit.
vivitur omnigenis in partibus haud secus ac si
cives congenitos concludat moenibus unis
urbs patria atque omnes lare conciliemur avito.
distantes regione plagae divisaque ponto
litora conveniunt nunc per vadimonia ad unum
et commune forum, nunc per commercia et artes
ad coetum celebrem, nunc per genialia fulcra
externi ad ius conubii; nam sanguine mixto

---

[a] Often mentioned as a source of alluvial gold.

[b] The Tiber. The phrase is taken from the *Aeneid* (VIII, 77). *Hesperia* (the land of the west, from the Greek point of view) is a poets' name for Italy. Rivers are compared to bulls (*cf.* Horace's *tauriformis Aufidus*); hence *corniger*.

ruling power and bear gentle bonds in harmony under the yoke, so that love of their religion should hold men's hearts in union; for no bond is made that is worthy of Christ unless unity of spirit leagues together the nations it associates. Only concord knows God; it alone worships the beneficent Father aright in peace. The untroubled harmony of human union wins his favour for the world; by division it drives Him away, with cruel warfare it makes Him wroth; it satisfies Him with the offering of peace and holds Him fast with quietness and brotherly love. In all lands bounded by the western ocean and lightened by Aurora at her rosy dawning, the raging war-goddess was throwing all humanity into confusion and arming savage hands to wound each other. To curb this frenzy God taught the nations everywhere to bow their heads under the same laws and become Romans—all whom Rhine and Danube flood, or Tagus [a] with its golden stream, or great Ebro, those through whose land glides the horned river of the western world,[b] those who are nurtured by Ganges or washed by the warm Nile's seven mouths. A common law made them equals and bound them by a single name, bringing the conquered into bonds of brotherhood. We live in countries the most diverse like fellow-citizens of the same blood dwelling within the single ramparts of their native city, and all united in an ancestral home. Regions far apart, shores separated by the sea, now meet together in appearing before one common court of law, in the way of trade in the products of their crafts they gather to one thronged market, in the way of wedlock they unite in legal marriage with a spouse of another country; for a single progeny is

texitur alternis ex gentibus una propago.
hoc actum est tantis successibus atque triumphis
Romani imperii: Christo iam tunc venienti,
crede, parata via est, quam dudum publica nostrae
pacis amicitia struxit moderamine Romae.
nam locus esse Deo quis posset in orbe feroci
pectoribusque hominum discordibus et sua iura
dissimili ratione tuentibus, ut fuit olim?
sic inconpositos humano in pectore sensus
disiunctasque animi turbato foedere partes
nec liquida invisit sapientia nec Deus intrat.
at si mentis apex regnandi iure potitus
pugnacis stomachi pulsus fibrasque rebelles
frenet et omne iecur ratione coerceat una,
fit stabilis vitae status, et sententia certa
haurit corde Deum domino et subiungitur uni.
en ades, Omnipotens, concordibus influe terris:
iam mundus te, Christe, capit, quem congrege nexu
pax et Roma tenent. capita haec et culmina rerum
esse iubes, nec Roma tibi sine pace probatur,
et pax ut placeat facit excellentia Romae,
quae motus varios simul et dicione coercet
et terrore premit; nec enim spoliata prioris
robore virtutis senuit nec saecula sensit,
nec tremulis, cum bella vocant, capit arma lacertis,
nec tam degeneri venerandis supplicat ore

---

[a] The gradual extension of Roman citizenship culminated in 212, when the edict of Caracalla made it practically universal throughout the empire, so that there were now no *peregrini*, *i.e.* subjects of Rome without citizen-rights. Under the old system marriage fully recognised by Roman law between a Roman and a *peregrina* or *peregrinus* was not possible unless the privilege had been specifically conferred on the peregrine community concerned. The sentiment of these lines is also

produced from the mixed blood of two different races.[a] Such is the result of the great successes and triumphs of the Roman power. For the time of Christ's coming, be assured, was the way prepared which the general good will of peace among us had just built under the rule of Rome. For what room could there have been for God in a savage world and in human hearts at variance, each according to its different interest maintaining its own claims, as once things were? Where sentiments are thus disordered in man's breast, agreement upset, and faction in the soul, neither pure wisdom visits nor God enters. But if a supremacy in the soul, having gained authority to rule, checks the impulses of refractory appetite and rebellious flesh and controls all its passions under a single order, the constitution of life becomes stable and a settled way of thought draws in God in the heart and subjects itself to one Lord.

Come then, Almighty; here is a world in harmony; do Thou enter it. An earth receives Thee now, O Christ, which peace and Rome hold in a bond of union. These Thou dost command to be the heads and highest powers of the world. Rome without peace finds no favour with Thee; and it is the supremacy of Rome, keeping down disorders here or there by the awe of her sovereignty, that secures the peace, so that Thou hast pleasure in it. She has not been robbed of the might of her former valour and grown feeble with age, she has not felt the force of time, and it is with no shaking arm that she takes up her weapons at the call of war. With no such failing voice does she petition her august emperors as that

[a] expressed by Prudentius' contemporary Claudian, *De Consulatu Stilichonis*, III, 150 ff.

principibus, quam vult praenobilis ille senator
orandi arte potens et callida fingere doctus
mentitumque gravis personae inducere pondus,
ut tragicus cantor ligno tegit ora cavato,
grande aliquod cuius per hiatum crimen anhelet.
si vocem simulare licet, nempe aptior ista
vox Romae est, quam nunc eius sub nomine promam.
quae quia turpe putat templorum flere repulsam
aegidaque in dubiis pro se pugnasse periclis
dicere seque gravem senio inclinante fateri,
ductores conplexa suos sic laeta profatur:
'O clari salvete duces, generosa propago
principis invicti, sub quo senium omne renascens
deposui vidique meam flavescere rursus
canitiem: nam cum mortalia cuncta vetustas
inminuat, mihi longa dies aliud parit aevum,
quae vivendo diu didici contemnere finem.
nunc, nunc iusta meis reverentia conpetit annis,
nunc merito dicor venerabilis et caput orbis,
cum galeam sub fronde oleae cristasque rubentes
concutio viridi velans fera cingula serto
atque armata Deum sine crimine caedis adoro.
crimen enim, piget heu, crimen persuaserat atrox
Iuppiter, ut sacro iustorum sanguine tincta
adsuetum bellis scelerarem funere ferrum.
illius instinctu primus Nero matre perempta
sanguinem apostolicum bibit ac me strage piorum
polluit et proprium facinus mihi saevus inussit.

[a] *Cf.* lines 80 ff. and Symmachus 9.

[b] Actors on the stage wore masks more or less adapted to the character, and having a wide opening for the mouth.

[c] See note on line 535.

[d] Agrippina (Tacitus, *Annals*, XIV, 1–11).

[e] St Peter and St Paul.

very noble senator would have it, who is such a master of the art of speech, so skilful in inventing clever arguments and putting on an impressive figure to lend them false weight,[a] just as a player in a tragedy covers his face with a piece of hollow-shaped wood [b] to utter some great wickedness with all his breath through its gaping mouth.

If one may assume a voice, surely more befitting Rome is the voice which I shall now put forth in her name. Because she thinks it dishonourable to lament the rejection of her temples, to say that the aegis [c] fought for her in times of anxious peril, and to admit that she is bowed under the weight of years, she embraces her leaders and thus in good heart declares: "I greet you, renowned captains, noble sons of an unconquerable emperor under whom with life renewed I put old age entirely off and saw my gray hair turn again to gold; for though time reduces all mortal things, length of days brings forth for me a new life and I have learned by living long to defy death. Now at last fit and proper reverence is paid to my years. Now of right I am called venerable, the head of the world, when I shake my helmet with its red crests under a sprig of olive and veil my cruel sword-belt with a garland of greenery, worshipping God in arms but with no guilt of bloodshed. For it was to sin (alas, to my sorrow now!), it was to sin that savage Jupiter led me on, to stain my hands with the holy blood of the righteous and defile with the guilt of their death the sword that had its proper use in war. It was at his prompting that Nero, after slaying his mother,[d] first drank the blood of the apostles,[e] soiled me with the slaughter of devout men, and branded his own cruel wickedness on me. After

post hunc et Decius iugulis bacchatus apertis
insanam pavit rabiem; mox et sitis arsit
multorum similis, per vulnera tristia flagrans
extrahere insignes animas ac ludere poenis
undantesque meum in gremium defundere mortes
et sub iure fori non noxia colla secare.
hac me labe ream modo tempora vestra piarunt.
vivo pie vobis auctoribus, inpia pridem
arte Iovis, fateor; quid enim non ille cruentum
tradidit? aut quid mite sibi placidumve poposcit?
qui, dum praemetuit cultus inolescere Christi,
saeviit ac miserum foedavit sanguine saeclum.
et sunt qui nobis bella exprobrare sinistra
non dubitent, postquam templorum sprevimus aras,
adfirmentque Libyn Collinae a cardine portae
Hannibalem Iovis imperio Martisque repulsum,
victores Senonas Capitoli ex arce fugatos
cum super e celso pugnarent numina saxo!
qui mihi praeteritam cladem veteresque dolores
inculcant iterum, videant me tempore vestro
iam nil tale pati: nullus mea barbarus hostis
cuspide claustra quatit, non armis, veste comisque
ignotus capta passim vagus errat in urbe
transalpina meam rapiens in vincula pubem.

[a] Emperor from 249 to 251. He tried to enforce conformity to the state religion throughout the empire.

[b] The later persecutions took place mainly under Valerian (in the years 257–259) and under Diocletian and his colleagues (beginning in 303 and ended by the Edict of Milan issued by Constantine and Licinius in 313).

[c] *Cf.* Symmachus, 9. In 211 B.C. Hannibal marched to the near neighbourhood of Rome in the hope of compelling the Romans to withdraw from the siege of Capua. With a force of cavalry he rode up to the Colline Gate, but made no attack (Livy, XXVI, 10–11).

him Decius [a] fed his mad rage by revelling in murder, and then the like thirst burned hot in many others [b] to drag out noble lives through cruel wounds and make a sport of punishments, pouring a flood of deaths into my lap and cutting off innocent heads by sentence of the courts. It is only your times that have cleansed me from this guilty stain. Under your lead my life is godly; formerly, I confess, I was ungodly, through the deception of Jupiter. For what bloody cruelty did he not pass to me? When did he ever demand for himself an act that was mild and gentle? Fearing beforehand that the worship of Christ would take root, he vented his rage and befouled a wretched world with blood. And yet there are some who do not hesitate to reproach us with ill fortune in wars since we rejected the altars in the temples, and assert that the African Hannibal was driven back from the hinge of the Colline Gate [c] by the power of Jupiter and Mars, and the victorious Senones [d] routed from the citadel on the Capitol because divine powers were fighting from the rock high above! Let those who din into my ears once more the story of past disasters and ancient sorrows observe that in your time I suffer such things no longer. No barbarian foe shatters my bars with his spear, nor with strange arms and dress and hair goes roving through my captured city, carrying off my young men to bondage across the Alps. Not

[d] One of a number of Celtic tribes which had crossed the Alps and occupied northern Italy about 400 B.C. In 390 a horde of them sacked Rome but were unable to take the Capitoline citadel. Some of them succeeded in climbing up the rock by night, but the alarm was raised by some geese (*cf.* line 703) which, because they were sacred to Juno, the hard-pressed garrison had refrained from eating (Livy, V, 47).

temptavit Geticus nuper delere tyrannus
Italiam patrio veniens iuratus ab Histro
has arces aequare solo, tecta aurea flammis
solvere, mastrucis proceres vestire togatos;
iamque ruens Venetos turmis protriverat agros
et Ligurum vastarat opes et amoena profundi
rura Padi Tuscumque solum victo amne premebat.
depulit hos nimbos equitum non pervigil anser,
proditor occulti tenebrosa nocte pericli,
sed vis cruda virum perfractaque congredientum
pectora nec trepidans animus subcumbere leto
pro patria et pulchram per vulnera quaerere laudem.
numquid et ille dies Iove contulit auspice tantum
virtutis pretium? dux agminis imperiique
Christipotens nobis iuvenis fuit, et comes eius
atque parens Stilicho, Deus unus Christus utrique.
huius adoratis altaribus et cruce fronti
inscripta cecinere tubae: prima hasta dracones
praecurrit, quae Christi apicem sublimior effert.
illic ter denis gens exitiabilis annis
Pannoniae poenas tandem deleta pependit.

---

[a] Visigoths under Alaric invaded Italy in 401, but were repelled by Stilicho at Pollentia in 402 or 403 (*cf.* line 720). Claudian in his *De Bello Getico*, like Prudentius, represents this battle as a crushing defeat of the Goths, but this is an exaggeration (Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, I pt. ii, p. 722). Within a few years after these lines were written the

long since a Getic king [a] came from his native Danube and essayed to wipe out Italy, having sworn to rase these strongholds to the ground, destroy our gold-roofed buildings with fire, and dress our toga-clad nobles in skins. Already in his onward rush he had trampled down Venetia's lands with his squadrons and laid waste the riches of Liguria, and was pressing hard on the fair countryside by the deep Po and, passing the river, on the soil of Tuscany. But it was no watchful goose that drove away those clouds of horsemen, revealing a peril that was hidden in the darkness of night, but the rude strength of *men*, breasts shattered in the clash of battle, a spirit that feared not to submit to death for its country and to seek glorious honour through its wounds. Did that day too bestow its great reward of valour by Jupiter's favour? To lead our army and our power we had a young warrior [b] mighty in Christ, and his Companion and father Stilicho, and Christ the one God of both. It was after worship at Christ's altar and when the mark of the cross was imprinted on the brow, that the trumpets sounded. First before the dragon-standards [c] went a spear-shaft raising the crest of Christ above them. There the race that for thirty years had plagued Pannonia [d] was at last wiped out and paid the penalty. The

Goths were in Italy again and in 410 they took and plundered Rome.

[b] Honorius became emperor of the West while still a boy in 395. By his father's arrangement he was under the tutelage of Stilicho, an officer of Vandal origin who had risen high in the Roman military service, and whose daughter he afterwards married.

[c] See note on *Cath.* 5, 56.

[d] The Visigoths had been a source of trouble south of the Danube since 376.

corpora famosis olim ditata rapinis
in cumulos congesta iacent; mirabere seris,
posteritas, saeclis inhumata cadavera late,
quae Pollentinos texerunt ossibus agros.
si potui manibus Gallorum excisa levare
de cinerum squalore caput, redeunte Camillo
signa renidenti fumans si fronte recepi,
si potui miseras sertis redimire ruinas
et male pendentes lauro praecingere turres,
quo te suscipiam gremio, fortissime princeps?
quos spargam flores? quibus insertabo coronis
atria? quae festis suspendam pallia portis,
inmunis tanti belli ac te stante sub armis
libera et aure tenus Geticos experta tumultus?
scande triumphalem currum, spoliisque receptis
huc Christo comitante veni. date, vincula demam
captivis gregibus; manicas deponite longo
tritas servitio, matrum iuvenumque catervae.
dediscat servire senex laris exul aviti,
discat et ad patrium limen genetrice reversa
ingenuum se nosse puer. timor omnis abesto;
vicimus, exultare libet. quid tale repulso
Poenorum quondam duce contigit? ille petitae
postquam perculerat tremefacta repagula portae,
Baianis resolutus aquis durissima luxu

[a] Tradition told how, when the Gauls were besieging the Capitol at Rome (see note on line 688), Camillus was recalled from exile and how, arriving with a force just when a ransom in gold was being weighed out to the Gauls, he drove them from the city.

bodies of men who once enriched themselves by their ill-famed plundering now lie piled in heaps. Thou wilt marvel, Posterity, in late ages at corpses lying unburied far over the ground, which have covered the fields of Pollentia with their bones. If I was able to lift my head from the desolation of ashes after I was laid low by the hands of the Gauls; if at Camillus' return, still smoking as I was, I received back my standards with a smiling face [a]; if I could wreathe my sad ruins with garlands and gird my listing towers with bay, with what feelings shall I take *thee* to my heart, most valorous emperor? What flowers shall I scatter, in what wreaths set my halls, with what drapings hang my gates in celebration? For this great war has not touched me, but while thou didst stand under arms I have been free and the Goths' invasion only reached my ears. Mount the triumphal car, take thy spoils and come hither with Christ by thy side. Let me take the chains from off you captive throngs, drop the manacles that long bondage has worn smooth, ye troops of matrons and young men! [b] Let the old man be no longer a slave in exile from the home of his ancestors, and the child begin to know himself free-born, now that his mother has come back to his father's house. Begone all fear! We have won the victory; now will we leap with joy. What success like this fell to us when long ago the Carthaginian captain was driven away? He, after attacking our gate and shaking its bars with his strokes, weakened himself with the waters of Baiae, with indulgence forsook his hardy strength,

[b] The victory at Pollentia led to the release of many who had been in the hands of the Goths. *Cf.* Claudian, *De Bello Getico*, 616 ff.

robora destituit ferrumque libidine fregit.
at noster Stilicho congressus comminus ipsa
ex acie ferrata virum dare terga coegit.
hic Christus nobis Deus adfuit et mera virtus,
illic lascivum, Campania fertilis, hostem
deliciae vicere tuae; non Iuppiter acrem
protexit Fabium, sed iuvit amoena Tarentus,
quae dedit inlecebris domitum calcare tyrannum.
his ego pro meritis quae praemia digna rependam,
non habeo: membra statuis effingere vile est;
virtutem nil vile decet; nam vile, quod aetas
eripit: aera cadunt aut fulvum defluit aurum
aut candor perit argenti si defuit usus,
et fuscata situ corrumpit vena colorem.
viva tibi, princeps, debetur gloria, vivum
virtutis pretium decus inmortale secuto.
regnator mundi Christo sociabere in aevum,
quo ductore meum trahis ad caelestia regnum.
nil te permoveat magni vox rhetoris, oro,
qui sub legati specie sacra mortua plorans
ingenii telis et fandi viribus audet,
heu, nostram temptare fidem nec te videt ac me
devotos, Auguste, Deo, cui sordida templa
clausimus et madidas sanie deiecimus aras.

[a] Livy (XXIII, 18. *Cf.* 45) claims that Hannibal's forces were demoralised by spending the winter after the battle of Cannae amid the luxuries of Capua in Campania; but this was before his march to Rome, not after it as Prudentius here says; nor did he on that occasion attack the city. Baiae itself is not historically connected with Hannibal. It was later a sea-side resort of wealthy Romans and had warm springs. Prudentius thinks of it here because, like Capua, it was in Campania and had a reputation for luxury and dissipation. Cicero's enemy Clodius on one occasion tried to discredit him by alleging that he had been there.

with lust broke the power of his sword.[a] But our Stilicho grappled with the foe and compelled them to flee in their armour from actual battle. In this case Christ our God and sheer valour were on our side; in that, it was thy voluptuous delights, fertile Campania,[b] that overcame our licentious enemy; it was not Jupiter who protected the bold Fabius, but the charms of Tarentum that aided him, enabling him to trample on a tyrant who was already subdued by her allurements.[c] In recompense for these services I know not how to make fitting return. To represent thy person in statues would be paltry (and nothing paltry is beseeming to merit), for that which time steals is paltry. Bronzes fall down, yellow gold passes away, silver loses its sheen for want of use, and the metal is blackened by neglect and its colour spoiled. To thee, our emperor, a living glory is due, a living reward for thy merit, since thou hast sought after honour that is deathless. As ruler of the world thou shalt be made partner with Christ for ever, for under his leadership thou dost draw my realm to the heavens. Let not the voice of the great orator prevail on thee, I pray, when under the guise of a deputy he bemoans the fate of rites that are dead, and with all the weapons of his mind and powers of speech dares, alas! to attack our faith, not seeing that thou and I, Augustus, are vowed to God, in whose honour we have closed the foul temples and cast down the blood-soaked altars. Let

[b] Campania is often praised for its surpassing fertility (*e.g.* Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* XVIII, 109–111).

[c] In the 2nd Punic War Q. Fabius Maximus recovered possession of Tarentum from the Carthaginians. Horace calls it "soft" (with reference to its climate) and "unwarlike."

unus nostra regat servetque palatia Christus;
ne quis Romuleas daemon iam noverit arces,
sed soli pacis Domino mea serviat aula."
sic adfata pios Roma exoravit alumnos ·
spernere legatum non admittenda petentem,
legatum Iovis ex adytis ab haruspice missum,
at non a patria; patriae sua gloria Christus.
persistit tamen adfirmans iter esse viandi
multifidum variumque, Deus cum quaeritur unus;
hinc alios, ast inde alios properare seorsum,
quemque per anfractus proprios; sed conpeta eodem
fine coartari simul et concurrere in unum;
quin etiam caelum atque solum, ventos, mare, nubes
omnibus in commune dari, vel qui colimus te,
Christe, vel exta litant sculptis qui tabida saxis.
non nego communem cunctis viventibus usum
aëris, astrorum, pelagi, telluris et imbris.
immo etiam iniustus pariter iustusque sub uno
axe habitant, unas capit inpius et pius auras,
castus et incestus, meretrix et nupta, nec alter
ore sacerdotis quam myrmillonis anhelat
spiritus, aërio vitam qui temperat haustu.
nubis verna pluit zephyro inpellente, sed aeque
furis et innocui fecundat rura coloni.
gurgitis aestivi sic pura fluenta viator,
ut latro, fessus adit; sic piratis mare servit
ut mercatori, nec fluctus secius hosti
obsequitur, quam cum licitae fert transtra carinae.
ergo capax utriusque rei natura creandis
se praebet populis, nec habet discernere dispar

---

[a] See note on line 90.

Christ alone rule and keep our palaces, let no evil spirit any longer know the strongholds of Romulus, but my court serve the Lord of peace alone."

So speaking, Rome has prevailed on her loyal sons to reject the deputy's inadmissible petition, for he was a deputy sent by a soothsayer from the shrine of Jupiter, not by his country. His country's proper glory is Christ. Yet he keeps on, asserting that there are manifold different routes of travel in the search for the one God.[a] Seekers, he says, make haste after Him from different sides in separation, each by his own winding path, but the ways contract and meet in the same end, coming together into one. And he claims that sky and earth, wind and sea and clouds are given to all in common, both to us who worship Thee, O Christ, and those who offer rotting entrails to carved stones. I do not deny that enjoyment of air, stars, ocean, earth, rain, is common to all that live; indeed the unrighteous and the righteous dwell together under the same sky, the ungodly and the godly draw in the same air, the pure and the impure, the harlot and the wedded wife, and it is the same breath that breathes in the mouth of priest and gladiator, controlling the life with the draught of air. The cloud showers its rain in spring when the west wind drives it, but it enriches equally the land of the thief and the honest farmer. Traveller and robber, when they are tired, visit alike the pure waters of the stream in summer, the sea serves the pirate as well as the trader, and its waves are as compliant to an enemy as when they bear the thwarts of a lawful ship. Nature, then, while furnishing her services for the creation of peoples, is indifferent and cannot distinguish be-

viventum meritum, quos tantum pascere iussa est.
servit enim mundus, non iudicat; hoc sibi summus
naturae Dominus praescripta in tempora servat.
nunc adsunt homini data munera legibus isdem
quis concessa semel: fons liquitur, amnis inundat,
velivolum ratibus mare finditur, influit imber,
aura volat tenuis, vegetatur mobilis aër,
et res naturae fit publica promptaque cunctis,
dum servant elementa suum famulantia cursum.
sic probus atque reus capitalis criminis isdem
sideribus facilisque poli bonitate fruuntur.
vivere commune est, sed non commune mereri.
denique Romanus, Daha, Sarmata, Vandalus, Hunnus,
Gaetulus, Garamans, Alamannus, Saxo, Galaula,
una omnes gradiuntur humo, caelum omnibus unum est,
unus et oceanus, nostrum qui continet orbem.
addo aliud: nostros potant animalia fontes;
ipso rore mihi seges est, quo gramen onagris,
spurca suis nostro amne natat, nostra intrat et ipsos
aura canes animatque levi fera corpora flatu.
sed tantum distant Romana et barbara, quantum
quadrupes abiuncta est bipedi vel muta loquenti;
tantum [1] etiam qui rite Dei praecepta sequuntur,
cultibus a stolidis et eorum erroribus absunt.
non facit ergo pares in religione tenenda
aëris et caeli communio; corpora tantum

[1] *Bergman reads* quantum *with most of his MSS.*

[a] This appears to be the first occurrence of the name in literature. Orosius, who wrote in the early part of the 5th century, but later than Prudentius, gives *Galaules* (or *Galaulae*)

EL'S COLL
BRARY

tween the different merits of the living, because her only duty is to feed them. For the world is our servant, not our judge; this function the supreme Lord of nature reserves for Himself at the appointed season. Man has now possession of the gifts that were given him, on the same terms as when they were granted once for all: the spring flows, the river is full, the sail-winged sea is cut by ships, the rain streams down, the thin breeze flies, the air is brisk and nimble, and the substance of nature becomes common property available for all so long as the elements in our service keep their due course. Thus the good man and he who is guilty of a capital crime have the benefit of the same stars and the same benevolence of the indulgent heavens. Life is common to all, but merit is not. And accordingly Roman, Dahan, Sarmatian, Vandal, Hun, Gaetulian, Alamannian, Saxon, Galaulian,[a] all walk on the same earth, all have the same sky and the same ocean bounding our world. And more than that, the animals drink of *our* springs, the same dew that gives grass to the wild asses gives me corn, the dirty sow bathes in our river, our air enters into the very dogs and with its light breath animates the bodies of wild beasts. Yet what is Roman and what is barbarian are as different from each other as the four-footed creature is distinct from the two-footed or the dumb from the speaking; and no less apart are they who loyally obey God's commands from senseless cults and their superstitions. So the sharing of air and sky does not make them alike in their holding to religion; it only produces and nurtures and restores their

[a] as the "modern" name for the Autololes, an African people mentioned by Lucan (IV, 677).

gignit, alit, reparat, recidivaque semina servat.
nec refert, cuius generis cuiusve figurae
aut cuius meriti: modo sint ut corpora terra
edita terrenis quibus est vigor ex elementis;
artificis quia Patris opus discrimine nullo
influit in medium nec avaro munere currit,
ante datum quam primus homo sordesceret Adam.
nec vitio utentum restrictum deficit aut se
subtrahit indignis, nec foeda et turpia vitat.
haud aliter solis radius, cum luminat omnes
diffuso splendore locos, ferit aurea tecta,
sed ferit et nigro sordentia culmina fumo.
intrat marmoribus Capitolia clara, sed intrat
carceris et rimas et taetra foramina clausi
stercoris et spurcam redolenti in fornice cellam.
sed non illud erunt obscura ergastula, quod sunt
regia gemmato laquearia fulva metallo.
nempe magis non illud erunt, qui numen in urnis
quaerunt ac tumulis et larvas sanguine placant,
quod sunt qui summum caeli Dominum venerantur
iustitiamque litant et templum pectoris ornant.
secretum sed grande nequit rationis opertae
quaeri aliter quam si sparsis via multiplicetur
tramitibus, et centenos terat orbita calles
quaesitura Deum variata indage latentem.
longe aliud verum est; nam multa amba go viarum
anfractus dubios habet et perplexius errat;

---

[a] *I.e.* through the interstices of the leafy boughs with which, as Varro (*Res Rusticae*, I, 13, 4) recommends, the sides and top of the dung-heap are covered from the sun.

bodies and maintains the recurring generations. And it matters not of what kind or shape or merit they are, provided they are born of earth as bodies drawing their energy from earthly elements; because the work of the Father and Creator flows into a common stock making no distinction, and runs on with no stinted liberality, having been given before the first man Adam defiled himself. It is not restricted or cut short by the fault of the users, it does not withdraw itself from the unworthy nor shun what is foul and base. In the same way the sun's ray, when it scatters its brightness and lights up all places, strikes on golden roofs, but strikes also on roof-tops that are begrimed with black smoke. It enters the Capitol which shines bright with its marbles, but it enters also the chinks of the prison-house and the noisome openings in the cover of the dung-heap [a] and the filthy chamber in the stinking brothel. But that will not make dark jails the same as kings' palaces where the pannelled ceilings are yellow with gem-encrusted gold; still less will those who seek for divinity in funeral-urns and tombs and propitiate ghosts with blood be the same as those who worship the supreme Lord of the heavens, offering to Him the sacrifice of righteousness and embellishing for Him a temple in their heart. But, says he, the grand secret of mysterious truth can only be sought out by a multiplicity of ways and wide-spread tracks; the course which is to search out the hidden God must trace Him by diverse ways and tread a hundred paths. Far other is the reality; for much going about of ways involves windings and uncertainties and more confused wandering; none but the single way is free from

sola errore caret simplex via, nescia flecti
in diverticulum, biviis nec pluribus anceps.
Non tamen infitior duplex occurrere nobis
semper iter, geminis mortalia partibus ire,
cum dubitant quonam ferat ignorantia gressum.
altera multifida est, at simplex altera et una;
una Deum sequitur, divos colit altera plures,
et tot sunt eius divortia quot templorum
signa, quot aëreis volitant phantasmata monstris.
aut hos thyrsigeri rapit ad Dionysia Bacchi,
inlicit aut alios ad Saturnalia festa,
aut docet occultus quae sacra Diespiter infans
inter tinnitus solvi sibi poscat aënos.
iamque Lupercales ferulae nudique petuntur
discursus iuvenum; Megalesius hinc spado diris
incensus furiis caeca ad responsa vocatur.
sunt qui quadriviis brevioribus ire parati
vilia Niliacis venerantur holuscula in hortis,
porrum et caepe deos inponere nubibus ausi,
alliaque et senapin [1] caeli super astra locare.

[1] *The MSS. have* serapen (*Bergman*) *or* serapin. senapin *is G. Meyer's emendation.*

---

[a] A wand or staff borne by Bacchus (Dionysus) and his attendants. It was wreathed with ivy and vine-leaves, and topped with a pine-cone.

[b] The Saturnalia, lasting for several days from December 17th, began with sacrifices but were mainly kept as a time of holiday with feasting and jollity. Presents were given between friends, and slaves were treated as free.

[c] The Curetes by beating brass on brass in their dance drowned the cries of the infant Jupiter in Crete and so kept the secret of his concealment. (See note on line 492 and *cf.* Lucretius, II, 629–639.) *Diespiter* is explained as an old nominative case which in ordinary use was displaced by its vocative *Iuppiter.*

straying, the way where there is no turning aside a by-road nor hesitation at a number of forks.

Yet I do not deny that a double path always confronts us and that mortality goes two ways, in uncertainty as to where its ignorance is carrying its step. The one splits into many branches, but the other is one and single. One follows after God, the other worships a number of deities and has as many offshoots as there are statues in the temples or phantoms flitting about in unsubstantial monstrous shapes. Some it carries to the Dionysiac rites of Bacchus with his thyrsus;[a] others it tempts to the festival of Saturn,[b] or teaches the rites of which the infant Jupiter in hiding demands payment amid the ringing of brass.[c] And then they seek after the whips and the running about naked of young men at the Lupercalia,[d] and the Megalesian eunuch, fired with fearful frenzy, is called to utter oracles that are dark. Some are ready to go by shorter cross-roads and worship paltry vegetables in gardens by the Nile, daring to set leek and onion in the clouds as gods and put garlic and mustard above the stars in the sky.[e] For

[a] A very ancient festival at Rome, celebrated on February 15th. Two companies of youths, called Luperci and clad in the skins of goats which had been sacrificed, ran round the boundaries of the Palatine Hill striking at the spectators (especially women) with strips of goat-hide.

[e] There is no evidence that the Egyptians as a nation did this. The source of these lines is probably Juvenal, 15, 1–11, where it is said that Egyptians think it sacrilege to eat leek or onion. This may have been true of some Egyptians in Roman times; or it may only be that some abstained from eating them; the Israelites in Egypt could eat leeks, onions and garlic freely (Numbers, xi, 5). Animals were venerated in various ways; in some cases gods were conceived of as animals or part-animal, and certain animals were sacred to certain gods.

Isis enim et Serapis et grandi simia cauda
et crocodilus idem quod Iuno, Laverna, Priapus.
hos tu, Nile, colis, illos tu, Thybris, adoras:
una superstitio est, quamvis non concolor error.
hinc alia exoritur tenebrosis tecta frutectis
semita, quam pecudes et muta animalia carpunt
quaeque latent silvis: operitur nescia caeli
mens hominum saevo vivens captiva tyranno.
haec putat esse Deum nullum, namque omnia verti
casibus, et nullo sub praeside saecla rotari.
hoc iter haudquaquam magno discrimine distat
hisce viis quas vos teritis, qui numina multa
et portenta deum summum numerosa putatis.
simplicis ergo viae dux est Deus, ille per unam
ire iubet mortale genus, quam dirigit ipse
sublimem dextro celsa ad fastigia clivo.
prima viae facies inculta, subhorrida, tristis,
difficilis, sed fine sui pulcherrima et amplis
praedita divitiis et abundans luce perenni,
et quae praeteritos possit pensare labores.
multiplici dux daemon adest, qui parte sinistra
centifidum confundit iter; trahit inde sophistas
barbatos, trahit hinc opibus vel honore potentes;
inlicit et volucrum linguis et haruspice fallit,
instigat bacchantis anus ambage Sibyllae,
involvit mathesi, magicas inpellit in artes,

---

[a] A patroness of thieves and tricksters. *Cf.* Horace *Epistles*, I, 16, 60.

[b] See note on I, 111.

[c] The Romans characteristically personified chance as the goddess Fortuna, on the vogue of whom in common life see Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* II, 22.

[d] *Cf. Hamart.* 789 ff.

Isis and Serapis and the Ape with the great tail and the Crocodile are the same thing as Juno, Laverna,[a] Priapus.[b] Those thou dost worship, O Nile; these thou, O Tiber, dost venerate. It is the same superstition, though the error wears a different hue. Elsewhere there starts another path, which is hidden under bushes in the dark, and along it cattle, dumb animals, creatures that hide in the woods, make their way: it is where the mind of man is covered over, knowing nothing of heaven and living in captivity under a cruel despot. It thinks there is no God, for all things are moved by chance and the ages whirl round under no governor.[c] This route is separated by no great distance from these ways which you tread, you who think there are many deities, a crowd of supreme gods who are mere monstrosities. It is a single path, then, on which God is our guide; He bids the race of men go by one way, which He makes straight high up along the slope on the right,[d] towards the lofty peaks. At first the path appears rude, somewhat rough, grim, and hard; but at its end it is most beautiful, furnished with plenteous riches, abounding in everlasting light, and able to make up for the toils of the past. On the manifold way the guide is the devil, who on the left hand splits it into the confusion of a hundred paths. One way he drags bearded[e] philosophers, another way men who are mighty in riches or honour. He tempts them on with the voices of birds, too, and cheats them with soothsaying, incites them with the obscurities of a raving old Sibyl, entangles them in astrology, drives them on to practise magic arts,

[e] The beard, like the staff (*Hamart.* 402), was characteristic of professed philosophers. *Cf. Apoth.* 200.

omine sollicitat, capit augure, territat extis.
cernis ut una via est multis anfractibus errans,
talem passa ducem qui non sinat ire salutis
ad Dominum, sed mortis iter per devia monstrat,
devia picta bonis brevibus, sed fine sub ipso
tristia et in subitam praeceps inmersa Charybdem?
ite procul, gentes! consortia nulla viarum
sunt vobis cum plebe Dei; discedite longe
et vestrum penetrate chaos, quo vos vocat ille
praevius infernae perplexa per avia noctis!
at nobis vitae Dominum quaerentibus unum
lux iter est et clara dies et gratia simplex.
spem sequimur gradimurque fide fruimurque futuris,
ad quae non veniunt praesentis gaudia vitae,
nec currunt pariter capta et capienda voluptas.
ultima legati defleta dolore querella est
Palladiis quod farra focis, vel quod stipis ipsis
virginibus castisque choris alimenta negentur,
Vestales solitis fraudentur sumptibus ignes.
hinc ait et steriles frugescere rarius agros
et tristem saevire famem, totumque per orbem
mortales pallere inopes ac panis egenos.
quae tanta extiterit praesenti tempore tamque

[a] Of boys and girls. *Cf.* Horace, *Odes*, I, 21; IV, 6, 29 ff. *Carm. Saec.* 5–8.

[b] Gratian in 382 had disendowed the priestly colleges. Symmachus (11 ff.) protests most particularly against the loss of support and privileges by the Vestal Virgins. These were six in number and their chief duty was to tend the sacred fire on the "hearth" of the state in the temple of Vesta. This goes back to very ancient times; in a primitive com-

inveigling them with omens, deceiving them with augury, frightening them with entrails of beasts. Do you not see how it is but one way, that wanders in many windings under a guide who will not let you go to the Lord of salvation, but shows you the road to death along by-ways—by-ways which are tricked out with short-lived benefits but at the end are grim and plunge suddenly down headlong to Charybdis? Away, ye pagans! You have no fellowship in the way with the people of God. Depart ye afar, and enter into your own darkness, whither that guide calls you, who goes before you over tangled ways far from the road, in the night of hell! But for us as we seek the Lord of life the one way is light and clear day and grace unmixed; we follow hope, walking by faith and enjoying things to come, to which the joys of this present life do not attain, for the pleasure that is gained already and that is to be gained hereafter do not run side by side.

The deputy's last tearful, sorrowful complaint is that sacrificial grain is refused to the altars of Pallas, grants to the very Vestals, and maintenance to the pure choirs,[a] and that Vesta's fires are cheated of their wonted upkeep.[b] And this, he says, is why our fields are barren and their fruits scantier, grim famine rages, and over the whole world mankind are pale with want and lack of bread. What great, malignant famine has arisen at this present time,

munity it was essential to keep one fire always alight, and the duty was probably laid on the daughters of the chief. The rites of Vesta were the most central and vital feature of the old state religion, and the Virgins were always held in great reverence and honour. To this stoppage of support Symmachus attributes a subsequent failure of the harvest and other calamities.

invidiosa fames, quam Triptolemi Cererisque
moverit ira penu pro virginis ulciscendo,
non memini nec tale aliquid vel fama susurrat.
audio per Pharios Nilum discurrere campos
more suo viridisque sata stagnare Canopi.
aut veniat sicco qui flumine nuntius adfert
ieiunam squalere siti sub pulvere Memphim,
nec Pelusiacae limum sudare paludis.
num fons arcano naturae tectus operto
aruit, et tenuem vix stillat vena liquorem?
num refugus nostras odit praestringere ripas
amnis et exustos cursum deflectit ad Indos?
num tractu in medio bibulus vorat alveus undam
fluminis et subito stagna absorbentur hiatu,
ne sulcos operire vadis neve arida possint
Aegypti per plana trahi glebasque rigentes
infusis ad pingue lutum mollire fluentis,
unde seges late crinitis fluctuet agris,
densius et gravidis se vestiat aequor aristis?
respice, num Libyci desistat ruris arator
frumentis onerare rates et ad ostia Thybris
mittere triticeos in pastum plebis acervos,
numne Leontini sulcator solvere campi
cesset frugiferas Lilybeo ex litore cumbas,

---

[a] Triptolemus appears in mythology as commissioned by Ceres to be a pioneer of corn-growing. *Cf.* Ovid, *Fasti*, IV, 550–60, *Metamorphoses*, V, 645–7.

[b] But *praesenti tempore*, the time at which Prudentius is writing, does not indicate the time at which Symmachus made the appeal (see Introduction, p. xi). Symmachus says distinctly that there was a national scarcity owing to failure of crops in the grain-supplying provinces.

[c] *I.e.* Ethiopians, as in the *Georgics*, IV, 293, where Virgil also is speaking of the Nile.

caused by the wrath of Triptolemus [a] and Ceres to avenge the Vestal's lost maintenance, I cannot think, and even report makes no whisper of such a thing.[b] I do hear it said that Nile spreads over the plains of Egypt in his usual way and makes a lake of the corn-lands of green Canopus. Else would a messenger come with the news that the river is dry and Memphis lies barren and parched with drought under the dust, while the mud of Pelusium's marsh-land has ceased to steam. Has the source which is hidden in the deep mystery of nature dried up, its spring scarce giving a meagre drop of water? Has the river turned back, not liking to wash our banks, and is it diverting its course towards the sunburnt Indians? [c] Does its thirsty channel engulf the water of the river in mid course? Is its stream suddenly swallowed down some gaping hole and prevented from covering the furrows with its shallow sea and spreading over the dry plains of Egypt, softening the stiff clods into rich clay soil with the inpouring of its flood, so that corn may wave like locks of hair far over the fields and the expanse of land clothe itself more thickly with full ears? See if the farmer of the African country-side is ceasing to load ships with his grain and send to Tiber's mouth his heaps of wheat to feed the people, if he who furrows the plain of Leontini [d] is behind-hand in sailing his corn-ships from the shore of Lilybaeum,[d] and the fleet that brings the gathered stores of

[d] In Sicily, which with Egypt, Africa, and Sardinia supplied most of the grain required at Rome. Letters of Symmachus (VI, 14 and 18; II, 6) show the alarm felt at Rome when the revolt of Gildo in Africa in the last years of the 4th century threatened to stop the supply from that source.

nec det vela fretis Romana nec horrea rumpat
Sardorum congesta vehens granaria classis.
ergo piris mensas silvestribus inplet arator
Poenus et evulsas Siculus depascitur herbas,
iamque Remi populo quernas Sardinia glandes
subpeditat, iam corna cibus lapidosa Quiritum?
quis venit esuriens magni ad spectacula circi?
quae regio gradibus vacuis ieiunia dira
sustinet? aut quae Ianiculi mola muta quiescit?
quantos quaeque ferat fructus provincia quamque
ubere fecundo large fluat orbis opimus,
indicio est annona, tuae quae publica plebi,
Roma, datur tantaeque manus longa otia pascit.
sit fortasse aliquis paulo infecundior annus:
nil mirum nec in orbe novum. didicere priores
perpessi plerumque famem, si tabidus aër
siccavit tenues ardenti sidere nubes
nec vernas infudit aquas creberrimus imber
fruge nova et viridi, si messis adulta priusquam
conceptas tenero solidaret lacte medullas,
adflatum calido sucum contraxit ab euro
ieiunosque tulit calamos atque inrita vota
agricolae sterilis stipularum silva fefellit.
his, ni fallor, ager vitiis corruptus et ante
subiacuit quam Palladium, quam Vesta penates
sub lare Pergameo servarent igne reposto,

[a] For administrative purposes Rome was divided by Augustus into 14 "regions."

[b] See note on I, 582.

[c] There were public grain-mills, driven by water, on the Janiculum (Platner-Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, s.v. *Molinae*).

Sardinian barns no longer spreading its canvas on the sea and filling the store-houses of Rome to bursting. Is the farmer of Carthage, then, filling his table with wild pears, he of Sicily feeding on herbage he has plucked from the ground? Is Sardinia now supplying the people of Remus with acorns from her oak trees? Are stony cornels now the food of the Romans? Who comes hungry to the shows in the great circus? What district [a] of Rome is enduring the horrors of want because the Steps [b] are empty? What mill on Janiculum [c] is silent and at rest? How great is the produce every province brings, with what rich and generous fertility the fruitful world abounds, is shown by the food which the state gives to thy people, O Rome, and which feeds the long idleness of that great multitude. Granted that one year is perchance a little less fertile than another, that is nothing strange nor a new thing in the world. Former generations have learned it by suffering hunger often, if a blighting atmosphere dried up the thin clouds under a burning sun and there was no frequent rain to shed its showers in spring, when the crop was young and green; if the corn grew up before it could firm with its tender milk the grains it had conceived, and its sap was checked by the breath of a hot east wind, so that it produced unfertile stalks and a barren forest of straws cheated the farmer's hopes and brought them to nothing. To such failings, I feel sure, the land was subject and was spoiled by them, even before the Palladium or Vesta with her fire hid from view kept safe the spirits of the house [d]

[d] Properly of the store-room (*penus*). They are often associated with Vesta, the spirit of the fire.

quam Priami genitor conductis moenia fabris
extrueret, quam virgo suas fundaret Athenas
Pallas; in his quoniam Vestalis origo favillae
urbibus, ut memorant, primo de fomite sumpta est
sacraruntque focos aut Phryx aut Graius alumnos.
antiquis elementa labant erroribus, ac de
legitimo discussa modo plerumque feruntur
in casus alios quam lex habet aut iter anni.
nunc consumit edax segetem rubigo maligni
aëris ex vitio, nunc culpam vere tepenti
post zephyros gelidi glacies aquilonis inurit
ambustumque caput culmi fuligine tinguit;
seminis aut teneri turgens dum germinat herba,
continuis nimiisque perit constricta pruinis
nec potis est tenuem telluri adfigere fibram;
mox eiecta solo glacie sidente superfit
nudaque subducto radix avellitur arvo.
ancipites tribuli subeunt et carduus horrens;
hos fert sicca sitis, hunc ebrius educat umor.
temperies effusa minus vel plus agit istos
terrarum morbos et mundum vulnerat aegrum.
non aliter nostri corruptus corporis usus
in vitium plerumque cadit nec in ordine recto
perstat et excessu moderaminis adficit artus;
unus enim status est mundique et corporis huius
quod gerimus; natura eadem sustentat utrumque.
edita de nihilo crescunt, nihilumque futura

---

[a] Laomedon, who employed the gods Poseidon and Apollo to build the walls of Troy but afterwards refused them the payment he had promised.

[b] Vesta is identical with the Greek Hestia. Virgil (*Aeneid*, II, 293–7) represents the spirit of Hector instructing Aeneas to take Vesta and the Penates of Troy from the burning city to the new home which he was destined to found.

under a Trojan roof; before Priam's father[a] hired workmen to build his walls, before the maiden Pallas founded her own dear Athens—for it was in these cities, as they tell, that the Vestal fire was first caught from the primal touchwood, and Phrygian or Greek fed the hearths and held them sacred.[b] The deviations and unsteadiness of the elements are ancient; they are often shaken out of their proper limits and rush into happenings which do not belong to their law or the course of the year. Sometimes wasting rust consumes the crop, arising from a taint and malignity in the air; sometimes in a warm spring after the west winds have blown, an icy blast from the cold north burns a fault into the corn, staining the blighted head of the stalk soot-black; or while the blade is sprouting and swelling from the tender seed it is shrivelled and killed by uninterrupted hard frosts; it cannot fix its slender tissue in the earth, and then as the frost goes deeper it is forced out of the ground and lies above it, the bare root torn away with no soil to cover it. Twin-spiked caltrops and the prickly thistle come up, those produced by parching drought, this by soaking moisture. The weather by defect or excess brings on these plagues of the earth and sickens and hurts the world. In the same way the functioning of our body often goes wrong and lapses into some imperfection; it does not continue in the right system, and by getting out of control brings disease on our organs. For the constitution of the world and of this body which we wear is one; it is the same nature that upholds both. Produced from nothing they grow up, and because they are destined to return to nothingness they either become infirm through disease or they are overcome by time

aut titubant morbis aut tempore victa senescunt,
nec natura caret vitio, cui terminus instat.
semper, crede, polus variis proventibus annos
texuit: hos multa ditavit fruge fluentes,
quosdam infelices astris damnavit iniquis,
spe cassa et sterili curam frustratus agrestem.
sed si Vestales ulciscitur ista puellas
pestis, ab infido quae gignitur inproba mundo,
cur non Christicolum tantum populatur agellos,
per quos virginibus vestris stata dona negantur?
utimur et ruris reditu et ratione colendi,
exercere manum non paenitet: et lapis illic
si stetit, antiquus quem cingere sueverat error
fasceolis vel gallinae pulmone rogare,
frangitur et nullis violatur Terminus extis,
et quae fumificas arbor vittata lucernas
servabat, cadit ultrici succisa bipenni.
nec tamen idcirco minor est aut fructus agelli
aut tempestatis clementia laeta serenae,
temperet aut pluvius qui culta novalia ventus.
sed nec magno opus est frugi viventibus, et cum
maxima proveniunt non amplo in gaudia censu
solvimur inque lucrum studio exultamus avaro.
nam quibus aeternum spes informatur in aevum,
omne bonum tenue est quod praesens ingerit aetas.

[a] The boundary stone, which from early times was an object of veneration. From the *numen* or spirit residing in it the notion of the god Terminus developed. His festival was celebrated in February (Ovid, *Fasti*, II, 639 ff.). The boundary mark, which might be not a stone but a tree-stump (Ovid, *l.c.* 641–2) or a tree (*cf.* line 1010 and Horace, *Epistles*, II, 2, 170), was then decorated, and sacrifice was

and grow old and feeble; a nature which is doomed to have an end is not free from imperfection. At all times, be assured, the sky has woven the fabric of the years with varying increase. Some it has enriched with great abundance of produce, some it has doomed to be ill-starred and barren, disappointing the countryman's labour with hopes that turned out to be empty and unfruitful. But if this cruel curse, which arises from a world we cannot trust, is avenging the Vestal maids, why does it not waste only the Christians' fields, since it is through them that the established gifts are refused to your Virgins? We have the benefit of the return from our land and our method of tillage, and have no cause to regret the labour of our hands: and if a stone [a] has stood there which ancient superstition used to gird with bands and petition with a hen's lights, it is broken now and Terminus is profaned by having no offering of entrails, and the tree that was decked with ribbons and used to hold smoking lanterns is felled by the stroke of the avenging axe. But the produce of the land is none the less for all that, nor the weather less mild and cheerful and bright, nor the wind reduced, which brings rain to allay the thirst of the ground we have broken up and tilled. Yet men who live soberly have no need of much, and when crops are very plentiful we do not let ourselves go in pleasures by reason of our abundant riches, nor do we spring to seize the profit with greedy desire. For to those whose hope is shaped for eternity every good thing which this present life brings is slight. Thrice happy

offered to the god by the neighbouring owners. The use of *gallinae pulmo* in this connection is not elsewhere mentioned; Ovid speaks of a lamb or a sucking pig.

o felix nimium, sapiens et rusticus idem,
qui terras animumque colens inpendit utrisque
curam pervigilem, quales quos inbuit auctor
Christus, et adsumptis dedit haec praecepta colonis:
" semina cum sulcis committitis, arva cavete
dura lapillorum macie, ne decidat illic
quod seritur, primo quoniam praefertile germen
luxuriat, suco mox deficiente sub aestu
sideris igniferi sitiens torretur et aret;
neve in spinosos incurrant semina vepres,
aspera nam segetem surgentem vincula texunt
ac fragiles calamos nodis rubus artat acutis;
et ne iacta viae spargantur in aggere grana,
haec avibus quia nuda patent passimque vorantur
inmundisque iacent foeda ad ludibria corvis."
his Deus agricolam confirmat legibus; ille
ius caeleste Patris non summa intelligit aure,
sed simul et cordis segetem disponit et agri,
ne minus interno niteant praecordia cultu
quam cum laeta suas ostentant iugera messes.
extirpamus enim sentos de pectore vepres,
ne vitiosa necent germen vitale flagella,
ne frugem segetemque animae spinosa malorum
inpediat sentix scelerum peccamine crebro,
glarea ne tenuis ieiunis siccet harenis
marcentem sub corde fidem, ne pectoris aestus
flagret et effetis urat charismata venis,
denique ne iecoris detrita in parte relinquat
vilis cura Deum, ne spem, qua vescimur intus,
deserat obscenisque avibus permittat edendam,
et proiecta fides hosti sit praeda volucri.

he, wise man and countryman too, who tends land and soul and spends sleepless care on both, like those whom Christ our Founder taught, and when he took them on as labourers in the field, thus instructed: "When you commit the seeds to the furrows, beware of ground that is hard, stony, and poor, lest that which is sown fall there, for at first the shoot is very fertile and grows abundantly, but then the sap fails and the thirsty plant is scorched and dried up under the heat of the flaming sun. And let not the seeds run among thorny bushes, for their rough thongs entwine the corn as it rises, and the bramble chokes the frail stalks with its piercing bonds. Nor let the grains you cast be scattered on the highway, for these are exposed to the birds and are all devoured, lying there for uncleanly crows to make foul sport of them." With these rules does God encourage the farmer, and he lets the Father's heavenly law sink into his ear and understanding, so managing the corn-land both in soul and field that his breast shall be no less well-conditioned through cultivation within, than his smiling acres when they display their harvest. For we root out the rough thorns from the heart, lest their vicious trailers kill the shoot of life and the prickly brier of hurtful wickedness choke the fruit that is the crop of the soul with many a sin, or light gravelly soil with barren sand dry up the faith and wither it in our heart, or heat burn in the breast and scorch the spiritual gifts in the exhausted flesh, or poor attention leave God where the heart's affections are worn away, and abandon the hope on which our inner nature feeds, leaving it to be eaten up by ill-boding birds, and the faith be cast away and become the prey of our winged enemy. Skill like

talis nostrorum sollertia centiplicatos
agrorum rediget fructus, quibus acrius instat,
nec metuit ne congestum populetur acervum
curculio vel nigra cavis formica recondat.
sunt et virginibus pulcherrima praemia nostris:
et pudor et sancto tectus velamine vultus,
et privatus honos nec nota et publica forma,
et rarae tenuesque epulae et mens sobria semper,
lexque pudicitiae vitae cum fine peracta.
hinc decies deni rediguntur in horrea fructus,
horrea nocturno non umquam obnoxia furi,
nam caelum fur nullus adit, caelestia numquam
fraude resignantur; fraus terris volvitur imis.
quae nunc Vestalis sit virginitatis honestas
discutiam, qua lege regat decus omne pudoris.
ac primum parvae teneris capiuntur in annis,
ante voluntatis propriae quam libera secta,
laude pudicitiae fervens et amore deorum,
iusta maritandi condemnet [1] vincula sexus.
captivus pudor ingratis addicitur aris,
nec contempta perit miseris sed adempta voluptas
corporis intacti: non mens intacta tenetur,
nec requies datur ulla toris, quibus innuba caecum
vulnus et amissas suspirat femina taedas;
tum quia non totum spes salva interficit ignem,

[1] condemnat *Bergman with some MSS.*

---

[a] Communities of nuns had developed along with the monastic movement which, originating in the eastern part of the empire, spread to the west in the 4th century. The contrast here implied between them and the Vestals is brought out explicitly in lines 1064–1113.

[b] The girl must be not less than six nor more than ten years old. "Taken" is a technical term. At one time names of girls who had certain necessary qualifications were

this will bring returns an hundredfold from *our* lands, where it applies itself with ardour, fearing not lest weevil lay waste the gathered store or black ant stow it away in its holes. *Our* virgins too have their noble rewards—modesty, the face covered with the holy veil, honour in private while their figure is unknown to the public, feasts seldom and slight, a spirit ever temperate, a law of chastity that is discharged only with death.[a] Hence fruit an hundredfold is brought into their barns, barns never exposed to a thief in the night, for no thief assails heaven, and the seal of heavenly things is never broken by dishonesty; it is on the earth below that dishonesty is planned.

Now I shall examine the high repute of the Vestals' virginity, and the justice of its claim to be the standard for all the honour paid to purity. In the first place, they are taken in the tender years of childhood,[b] before a free choice of their own will, burning with zeal for the glory of chastity and love of their gods, can reject the lawful bonds of matrimony. Their purity is taken prisoner and made over to thankless altars. In the poor girls the gratification of the body disappears not because it is scorned but because it is taken from them; the body is kept immaculate, but not the mind, and there is no rest on a bed on which the unwedded woman sighs over a secret wound and the lost chance of marriage. And then hope survives and so the fire is not wholly

drawn by lot, but later it became customary for fathers to offer their daughters; in either case the Pontifex Maximus laid his hand on the girl and repeated a formula which ended with the words "I take you, Amata." She was then conducted to the Atrium Vestae (the house of the Vestals) and passed out of her father's legal control (A. Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, I, 12).

nam resides quandoque faces adolere licebit
festaque decrepitis obtendere flammea canis;
tempore praescripto membra intemerata requirens
tandem virgineam fastidit Vesta senectam.[a]
dum thalamis habilis tumuit vigor, inrita nullus
fecundavit amor materno viscera partu;
nubit anus veterana sacro perfuncta labore,
desertisque focis, quibus est famulata iuventas,
transfert emeritas ad fulcra iugalia rugas,
discit et in gelido nova nupta tepescere lecto.
interea dum torta vagos ligat infula crines
fatalesque adolet prunas innupta sacerdos,
fertur per medias ut publica pompa plateas
pilento residens molli, seque ore retecto
inputat attonitae virgo spectabilis urbi.
inde ad consessum caveae pudor almus et expers
sanguinis it pietas hominum visura cruentos
congressus mortesque et vulnera vendita pastu
spectatura sacris oculis. sedet illa verendis
vittarum insignis phaleris fruiturque lanistis.[b]
o tenerum mitemque animum! consurgit ad ictus
et, quotiens victor ferrum iugulo inserit, illa
delicias ait esse suas, pectusque iacentis
virgo modesta iubet converso pollice rumpi,
ne lateat pars ulla animae vitalibus imis,

---

[a] The Vestal could retire and marry after thirty years' service, but according to Plutarch (*Numa*, 10) few did so. Tacitus (*Annals*, II, 86) records an instance of fifty-seven years' service.

[b] Gladiators were commonly slaves, convicts, or prisoners of war, but in imperial times there were also volunteers, who received food and wages. They were trained in special schools and hired out. *Cf.* the *bestiarii* to whom reference is made in *Hamart.* 372.

killed; for one day it will be lawful to light up the sleeping torches and throw the glad bridal veil over aged, gray-haired figures; Vesta demands an immaculate body for an appointed time, but in the end disdains a virgin old age.[a] As long as swelling vigour made them marriageable their flesh remained fruitless; no love made it fertile in motherhood. But the old veteran who has discharged her sacred duty marries; deserting the hearth which her youth served, she carries her time-expired wrinkles to the matrimonial couch and as a bride learns to grow warm in a cold bed. Meantime, while the twisted band fastens her straying locks and the unwedded priestess keeps the fire of destiny burning, she is carried along the middle of the streets in a sort of solemn public procession, sitting in a cushioned car, and with face uncovered obliges an awe-struck city with a sight of the admired Virgin. Then on to the gathering in the amphitheatre passes this figure of life-giving purity and bloodless piety, to see bloody battles and deaths of human beings and look on with holy eyes at wounds men suffer for the price of their keep.[b] There she sits conspicuous with the awe-inspiring trappings of her head-bands and enjoys what the trainers have produced. What a soft, gentle heart! She rises at the blows, and every time a victor stabs his victim's throat she calls him her pet; the modest virgin with a turn of her thumb[c] bids him pierce the breast of his fallen foe so that no remnant of life shall stay lurking deep in his vitals while under a deeper

[c] *Pollicem vertere* describes a gesture by which the spectators indicated their pleasure that a defeated gladiator should be dispatched. What the gesture exactly was is not clear.

altius inpresso dum palpitat ense secutor.
hoc illud meritum est, quod continuare feruntur
excubias Latii pro maiestate Palati,
quod redimunt vitam populi procerumque salutem,
perfundunt quia colla comis bene vel bene cingunt
tempora taeniolis et licia crinibus addunt,
et quia subter humum lustrales testibus umbris
in flammam iugulant pecudes et murmura miscent?
an quoniam podii meliore in parte sedentes
spectant aeratam faciem quam crebra tridenti
inpacto quatiant hastilia, saucius et quam
vulneribus patulis partem perfundat harenae
cum fugit, et quanto vestigia sanguine signet?
quod genus ut sceleris iam nesciat aurea Roma,
te precor, Ausonii dux augustissime regni,
et tam triste sacrum iubeas, ut cetera, tolli.
perspice, nonne vacat meriti locus iste paterni,
quem tibi supplendum Deus et genitoris amica
servavit pietas? solus ne praemia tantae
virtutis caperet, " partem tibi, nate, reservo "
dixit, et integrum decus intactumque reliquit.
adripe dilatam tua, dux, in tempora famam,

[a] The *secutor* is properly one type of gladiator, so called because he " pursued " the *retiarius* against whom he was pitted and who was armed with a trident (*cf.* line 1110) and a net which he tried to throw over his pursuer.

[b] The Vestals were present with the Flamen Quirinalis at the sacrifice to Consus (a spirit associated with the storing of the harvest), which took place at an altar below the level of the ground (Tertullian, *De Spectaculis*, 5); but though the Vestals may have had prayers to say, the sacrificer would be the flamen. As the altar was underground, ghosts, according to ancient ideas, would be likely to prowl there.

thrust of the sword the fighter [a] lies in the agony of death. Does their great service lie in this, that they are said to keep constant watch on behalf of the greatness of Latium's Palatine city, that they undertake to preserve the life of her people and the wellbeing of her nobles, let their locks spread nicely over their necks or nicely wreathe their brows with dainty ribbons and lay strings on their hair, and below the ground in presence of ghosts cut the throats of cattle over the flames in propitiatory sacrifice, and mutter indistinct prayers? [b] Or is it that they sit in the better seats on the balcony [c] and watch how often the shaft batters the bronze-helmed face with blows of its three-pronged head, from what gaping gashes the wounded gladiator bespatters his side of the arena when he flees, and with how much blood he marks his traces? That golden Rome may no more know this kind of sin is my prayer to you, most august Head of the Ausonian realm, and that you would command this grim rite [d] to be abolished like the rest. See, has not your father's merit left this space unoccupied, and God and your sire's kindly affection kept it for you to fill up? So that he should not take for himself alone the rewards of his great goodness, he has said "I keep back a portion for you, my son," and left the honour for you undiminished and unimpaired. Grasp the glory that has been reserved for your times, our leader, and as

[c] A raised platform facing the arena, on which seats were assigned to dignitaries. Augustus also gave the Vestals special seats in the theatre.

[d] *Cf.* 1125 and I, 379 ff. where Prudentius represents the dead gladiators as sacrificed to Dis, ruler of the world of the dead.

quodque patri superest, successor laudis habeto.
ille urbem vetuit taurorum sanguine tingui:
tu mortes miserorum hominum prohibeto litari.
nullus in urbe cadat, cuius sit poena voluptas,
nec sua virginitas oblectet caedibus ora.
iam solis contenta feris infamis harena
nulla cruentatis homicidia ludat in armis.
sit devota Deo, sit tanto principe digna
et virtute potens et criminis inscia Roma,
quemque ducem bellis sequitur, pietate sequatur.

your father's successor possess the credit he has left over. He forbade that the city should be wetted with the blood of bulls; do you command that the dead bodies of wretched men be not offered in sacrifice. Let no man fall at Rome that his suffering may give pleasure, nor Virgins delight their eyes with slaughter upon slaughter. Let the ill-famed arena be content now with wild beasts only, and no more make a sport of murder with blood-stained weapons.[a] Let Rome dedicate herself to God; let her be worthy of her great emperor, being both mighty in valour and innocent of sin; let her follow in goodness the leader she follows in war.

[a] Combats of gladiators were abolished in 404.

PERISTEPHANON LIBER

I

Hymnus in Honorem Sanctorum Martyrum Emeterii et Chelidonii Calagurritanorum.

Scripta sunt caelo duorum martyrum vocabula,
aureis quae Christus illic adnotavit litteris,
sanguinis notis eadem scripta terris tradidit.
pollet hoc felix per orbem terra Hibera stemmate,
hic locus dignus tenendis ossibus visus Deo,
qui beatorum pudicus esset hospes corporum.
hic calentes hausit undas caede tinctus duplici,
inlitas cruore sancto nunc harenas incolae
confrequentant obsecrantes voce, votis, munere.
exteri nec non et orbis huc colonus advenit,
fama nam terras in omnes percucurrit proditrix
hic patronos esse mundi, quos precantes ambiant.
nemo puras hic rogando frustra congessit preces;
laetus hinc tersis revertit supplicator fletibus
omne quod iustum poposcit inpetratum sentiens.
tanta pro nostris periclis cura suffragantium est,
non sinunt inane ut ullus voce murmur fuderit,

---

[a] They were soldiers who had refused to serve any longer (cf. 31–39, 61–66), like the centurion Marcellus, whose story is told by Gibbon (chap. xvi). Prudentius implies (40 ff.) that a general persecution was in progress, but the oral tradition on which he had to rely did not know the time at which they

CROWNS OF MARTYRDOM

I

A Hymn in Honour of the Holy Martyrs Emeterius and Chelidonius of Calagurris.

Written in heaven are the names of two martyrs;[a] Christ has entered them there in letters of gold, while on earth He has recorded them in characters of blood. For this glory the land of Spain has the fortune to be held in honour through all the world. This spot has seemed to God worthy to keep their bones, pure enough to be host to their blessed bodies. It drank in the warm stream when it was wetted by the slaughter of the twain, and now its people throng to visit the ground that was coloured with their holy blood, making petitions with voice and heart and gifts; and dwellers in the outside world too come here, for report has run through all lands publishing the news that here are patrons of the whole earth whose favour they may seek by prayer. No man here in making his requests has offered sincerely prayer on prayer in vain; from here the petitioner returns happy, with his tears dried, and conscious that all his righteous requests have been granted. With such concern for our perils do they work for us that they suffer no whisper any man has

suffered (73–78). Calagurris (Calahorra) was the chief town of the Vascones (cf. 94).

audiunt statimque ad aurem regis aeterni ferunt.
inde larga fonte ab ipso dona terris influunt,
supplicum causas petitis quae medellis inrigant.
nil suis bonus negavit Christus umquam testibus,
testibus quos nec catenae, dura nec mors terruit
unicum Deum fateri sanguinis dispendio,
sanguinis, sed tale damnum lux rependit longior.
hoc genus mortis decorum est, hoc probis dignum viris,
membra morbis exedenda, texta venis languidis,
hostico donare ferro, morte et hostem vincere.
pulchra res ictum sub ense persecutoris pati.
nobilis per vulnus amplum porta iustis panditur:
lota mens in fonte rubro sede cordis exilit.
nec rudem crudi laboris ante vitam duxerant
milites quos ad perenne cingulum Christus vocat.
sueta virtus bello et armis militat sacrariis.[1]
Caesaris vexilla linquunt, eligunt signum crucis
proque ventosis draconum, quos gerebant, palliis
praeferunt insigne lignum, quod draconem subdidit.
vile censent expeditis ferre dextris spicula,
machinis murum ferire, castra fossis cingere,
inpias manus cruentis inquinare stragibus.
forte tunc atrox secundos Istrahelis posteros

[1] *A has* nunc fidei militat, *which Bergman prints.*

---

[a] The banner referred to at *Cath.* v, 56.

[b] In a Roman will a "second heir" was one who succeeded if the first heir failed or did not accept the inheritance. Similarly, the Christianised gentiles became heirs to the inheritance of Israel because the Jews refused it.

uttered to go for naught; they listen to our prayer and straightway carry it to the ear of the everlasting King. Hence gifts flow generously on to earth from the very fountain-head, pouring on the petitioners' maladies the healing remedies they sought for. For Christ in his goodness has never refused aught to his witnesses,—witnesses whom neither chains nor cruel death deterred from confessing the one God at the cost of their blood, yes, their blood, but such loss is repayed by life prolonged. It is an honourable way of death and one that becomes good men, to make of the body, which is a fabric of feeble flesh and doomed to be wasted by disease, a gift to the enemy's sword, and by death to overcome the foe. A noble thing it is to suffer the stroke of the persecutor's sword; through the wide wound a glorious gateway opens to the righteous, and the soul, cleansed in the scarlet baptism, leaps from its seat in the breast.

No stranger to harsh toil was the past life of the soldiers whom Christ was calling to his everlasting service; it was valour used to war and arms that now fought for the altars. They abandoned Caesar's ensigns, choosing the standard of the cross, and in place of the swelling draperies of the serpents [a] which they used to carry, led the way with the glorious wood which subdued the serpent. They deemed it of little worth to carry javelins in hands ready for action, to batter a wall with engines of war, to gird a camp with ditches and stain godless hands with bloody slaughterings.

It happened at that time that the cruel head of the government of the world had commanded the second successors [b] of Israel to go to the altar and

ductor aulae mundialis ire ad aram iusserat,
idolis litare nigris, esse Christi defugas.
liberam succincta ferro pestis urgebat fidem;
illa virgas et secures et bisulcas ungulas
ultro fortis expetebat Christi amore interrita.
carcer inligata duris colla bacis inpedit,
barbaras forum per omne tortor exercet manus,
veritas crimen putatur, vox fidelis plectitur.
tunc et ense caesa virtus triste percussit solum
et rogis ingesta maestis ore flammas sorbuit.
dulce tunc iustis cremari, dulce ferrum perpeti.
hic duorum cara fratrum concalescunt pectora,
fida quos per omne tempus iunxerat sodalitas.
stant parati ferre quidquid sors tulisset ultima,
seu foret praebenda cervix ad bipennem publicam
verberum post vim crepantum, post catastas igneas,
sive pardis offerendum pectus aut leonibus.
" nosne Christo procreati mammonae dicabimur
et Dei formam gerentes serviemus saeculo?
absit ut caelestis ignis se tenebris misceat.
sit satis quod capta primo vita sub chirographo
debitum persolvit omne functa rebus Caesaris;
tempus est Deo rependi quidquid est proprium Dei.
ite, signorum magistri, et vos, tribuni, absistite.
aureos auferte torques, sauciorum praemia!
clara nos hinc angelorum iam vocant stipendia.
Christus illic candidatis praesidet cohortibus,

---

[a] An iron instrument of torture.

[b] As Eulalia is said to have done (III, 159–160).

[c] *Catasta* is properly a stand or platform on which slaves were exposed for sale, and also on which martyrs were tortured; but the word is sometimes applied to the engine of torture itself.

offer sacrifice to black idols, becoming deserters from Christ. A persecution armed with the sword was pressing hard on the freedom of the faith, but the faith in fortitude chose ardently the scourge and axe and double claws,[a] for the love of Christ made her dauntless. The prison-house fettered men's necks with hard links and held them fast, the torturer plied his savage hands at every assize, integrity was reckoned a crime and faithful speech was punished. Then was goodness cut down with the sword and smote the unhappy ground, or laid on the sorrowful pyre it sucked the flames in through the mouth;[b] sweet was it then for the righteous to be burned or to suffer the sword. Hereupon two brothers' loving hearts grew warm. Faithful comradeship had ever united them, and now they stood ready to bear whatsoever their fortune's extremity should bring, whether they must submit their necks to the executioner's axe after suffering the assault of the cracking scourge or the burning-hot gridiron,[c] or must present their breasts to leopards or lions. "Shall we who are children of Christ dedicate ourselves to Mammon? Shall we who wear the likeness of God be slaves to the world? Never may the heavenly fire mingle with darkness. Be it enough that our life, taken over under the bond we gave first, has paid its debt in full and done with the things of Caesar; now it is time to repay to God all that belongs to God. Away, ye masters of the standards! Stand off, ye tribunes! Take away the gold circlets that our wounds have won. The noble service of the angels calls us now from here. There Christ is at the head of white-clad regiments, and from his high throne in royal power

et throno regnans ab alto damnat infames deos
vosque, qui ridenda vobis monstra divos fingitis."
haec loquentes obruuntur mille poenis martyres;
nexibus manus utrasque flexus involvit rigor,
et chalybs adtrita colla gravibus ambit circulis.
o vetustatis silentis obsoleta oblivio!
invidentur ista nobis fama et ipsa extinguitur.
chartulas blasphemus olim nam satelles abstulit,
ne tenacibus libellis erudita saecula
ordinem, tempus modumque passionis proditum
dulcibus linguis per aures posterorum spargerent.
hoc tamen solum vetusta subtrahunt silentia,
iugibus longum catenis an capillum paverint,
quo viros dolore tortor quave pompa ornaverit.
illa laus occulta non est nec senescit tempore,
missa quod sursum per auras evolarunt munera,
quae viam patere caeli praemicando ostenderent.
illius fidem figurans nube fertur anulus,
hic sui dat pignus oris, ut ferunt, orarium,
quae superno rapta flatu lucis intrant intimum.
per poli liquentis axem fulgor auri absconditur
ac diu visum sequacem textilis candor fugit;
subvehuntur usque in astra nec videntur amplius.
vidit hoc conventus adstans, ipse vidit carnifex

He condemns your ill-famed gods and you who fashion yourselves divine persons out of absurd monstrosities."

At these words the martyrs are overwhelmed with a thousand tortures. Stiff fetters curve round their two hands and clasp them in their grip, and heavy rings of iron surround and chafe their necks. Alas for what is forgotten and lost to knowledge in the silence of the olden time! We are denied the facts about these matters, the very tradition is destroyed, for long ago a reviling soldier of the guard took away the records, lest generations taught by documents that held the memory fast should make public the details, the time and manner of their martyrdom, and spread them abroad in sweet speech for posterity to hear. Yet all that the silence of the old days takes from us is the knowledge whether their hair grew long with constant imprisonment, and what pains the tormentor laid on the heroes, or rather with what triumph he furnished them. One honour at least is not hidden from us nor wanes through lapse of time, how the offerings they sent up flew off through the air to show, as they went shining on before, that the path to heaven was open. A ring, representing the faith of the one, was carried up in a cloud, while the other, as they tell, gave a handkerchief as the pledge of his lips, and they were caught up by the wind of heaven and passed into the depths of light. The glint of the gold was lost to sight in the vault of the clear sky, and the white fabric escaped from the eyes that sought long to follow it; both were carried up to the stars and seen no more. This sight the gathered bystanders saw, and the executioner himself, and he checked his hand and stood motion-

et manum repressit haerens ac stupore obpalluit:
sed tamen peregit ictum, ne periret gloria.
iamne credis, bruta quondam Vasconum gentilitas,
quam sacrum crudelis error immolarit sanguinem?
credis in Deum relatos hostiarum spiritus? 96
cerne quam palam feroces hic domantur daemones,
qui lupino capta ritu [1] devorant praecordia,
strangulant mentes et ipsas seque miscent sensibus.
tunc suo iam plenus hoste sistitur furens homo 100
spumeas efflans salivas, cruda torquens lumina,
expiandus quaestione non suorum criminum.
audias, nec tortor adstat, eiulatus flebiles,
scinditur per flagra corpus, nec flagellum cernitur,
crescit et suspensus ipse vinculis latentibus. 105
his modis spurcum latronem martyrum virtus quatit,
haec coercet, torquet, urit, haec catenas incutit;
praedo vexatus relictis se medullis exuit.
linquit inlaesam rapinam, faucibus siccis fugit,
ungue ab imo usque ad capillum salva reddit omnia,
confitens ardere sese; nam gehennae est incola. 111
quid loquar purgata longis alba morbis corpora,
algidus cum decoloros horror artus concutit,
hic tumor vultum relinquit, hic color verus redit?
hoc bonum Salvator ipse, quo fruamur, praestitit,
martyrum cum membra nostro consecravit oppido,
sospitant quae nunc colonos quos Hiberus alluit. 117

[1] *Many of the later MSS. have* rictu (" with wolfish jaws ").

less, blanching in amazement; but in spite of all he carried the stroke through, so that their glory should not be lost.

Believe ye now, ye Vascones, once dull pagans, how holy was the blood which cruel superstition sacrificed? Believe ye that the victims' spirits were taken back to God? See how clearly here [a] wild devils are subdued, which like wolves capture and devour men's hearts, choking their very minds and mingling with their senses. For then the maniac possessed by his enemy is presented here foaming at the mouth and rolling his blood-shot eyes, to be cleansed by the trial of sins which are not his own. You may hear woeful cries of agony though no torturer is here; his body is cut with lashes though you see no whip; he is slung on the rack and his limbs are stretched [b] with cords invisible. In such wise does the virtue that is in the martyrs beat down the filthy devil, constrain, torture, burn, enchain him, till the plunderer is so harried that he slips out of his victim's marrows and departs. He leaves his prey unharmed, fleeing with bloodless jaws; from the tip of his toe to the hair of his head he gives back all uninjured, while he confesses that he himself is burning, for he is a dweller in hell. I need not tell how bodies whitened by lasting diseases have been cleansed of them, cases in which a cold shivering shakes limbs that have lost their colour, how in one a swelling leaves the face, or in another the natural hue returns. This blessing the Saviour himself bestowed for our advantage when He consecrated the martyrs' bodies in our town, where now they protect the folk who dwell by Ebro's waters.

[a] At the tomb of the martyrs.
[b] For this method of torture *cf.* v, 109–112, x, 108–110.

state nunc, hymnite, matres, pro receptis parvulis,
coniugum salute laeta vox maritarum strepat:
sit dies haec festa nobis, sit sacratum gaudium!

II

Hymnus in Honorem Passionis Laurentii Beatissimi Martyris.

Antiqua fanorum parens,
iam Roma Christo dedita,
Laurentio victrix duce
ritum triumphas barbarum.
  reges superbos viceras
populosque frenis presseras,
nunc monstruosis idolis
inponis imperii iugum.
  haec sola derat gloria
urbis togatae insignibus,
feritate capta gentium
domaret ut spurcum Iovem,
  non turbulentis viribus
Cossi, Camilli aut Caesaris,[a]
sed martyris Laurentii
non incruento proelio.
  armata pugnavit fides,
proprii cruoris prodiga;
nam morte mortem diruit,
ac semet inpendit sibi.
  fore hoc sacerdos dixerat
iam Xystus adfixus cruci,

[a] Several Cossi figure in the history of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. A. Cornelius Cossus, dictator in 385 B.C., crushed the Volscians (Livy, VI, 11–13).

Stand now, ye mothers, and sing hymns for little ones given back to you; let wives' voices sound loud in gladness for the recovery of their husbands; let us hold festival this day and consecrate our joy.

II

A Hymn in Honour of the Passion of the Most Blessed Martyr Lawrence.

Rome, thou ancient mother of temples, but now given up to Christ, Lawrence has led thee to victory and triumph over barbarous worship. Thou hadst already conquered haughty kings and held the nations in check; now thou dost lay the yoke of thy power on unnatural idols. This was the one glory lacking to the honours of the city of the toga, that it should take savage paganism captive and subdue its unclean Jupiter, not with the tempestuous strength of Cossus[a] or Camillus[b] or Caesar, but by the battle in which the martyr Lawrence shed his blood. The faith fought in arms, not sparing her own blood, for by death she destroyed death and spent herself to save herself.

Xystus[c] the priest had already foretold this when

[b] See *Contra Symm.* II, 722.

[c] Xystus (Sixtus II) was bishop of Rome when Valerian in 258 issued his second edict, by which the Christian clergy were condemned to death. Lawrence was his principal deacon (*cf.* 37 ff. Augustine calls him *archidiaconus*). The term *sacerdos* is often applied to bishops, especially when they are contrasted with deacons (*e.g.* VI, 10–15, 43). In spite of what Prudentius says here it is probable that Xystus was not crucified but beheaded (Allard, *Les Dernières Persécutions du IIIme Siècle*, 4th ed., Paris, 1924, App. C). Four of his deacons were executed at the same time; Lawrence was spared for the moment, probably because the authorities wished to get possession of the treasure of which he was in charge.

Laurentium flentem videns
crucis sub ipso stipite:
" desiste discessu meo
fletum dolenter fundere!
praecedo, frater; tu quoque
post hoc sequeris triduum."
  extrema vox episcopi
praenuntiatrix gloriae
nihil fefellit: nam dies
praedicta palmam praetulit.[1]
  qua voce, quantis laudibus
celebrabo mortis ordinem?
quo passionem carmine
digne retexens concinam?
  hic primus e septem viris
qui stant ad aram proximi,
Levita sublimis gradu
et ceteris praestantior,
  claustris sacrorum praeerat,
caelestis arcanum domus
fidis gubernans clavibus
votasque dispensans opes.
  versat famem pecuniae
praefectus urbi [2] regiae,
minister insani ducis,
exactor auri et sanguinis,
  qua vi latentes eruat
nummos, operta existimans
talenta sub sacrariis
cumulosque congestos tegi.
  Laurentium sisti iubet,
exquirit arcam ditibus
massis refertam et fulgidae
montes monetae conditos.

he was fastened to the cross and saw Lawrence weeping at the foot of its post. "Shed no more tears in sorrow at my departure," he said. "I go before you, my brother; you too will follow me three days from now." The bishop's last words, predicting Lawrence's glory, came true, for the day he foretold set the palm before him. With what words, what great praises, shall I celebrate the events of his death in their order, in what verses worthily sing the story of his passion? He, being the chief of the seven [a] who stand next the altar, the Levite [b] highest in rank and outstanding above the rest, was in charge of the safe-keeping of the holy things, with trusty keys managing the treasury of the heavenly house and paying out the money of the offerings. Now the prefect of the imperial city, the agent of a frantic ruler for enforcing payment of gold and blood, has a hunger for money busy in his heart, pondering how to unearth the hidden cash, for he thinks great riches piled in heaps lie concealed down in the treasury. He orders Lawrence to be brought before him and seeks for information of the chest packed with precious ingots, the mountains of

[a] *Cf.* Acts vi, 1–6. [b] I.e. deacon. *Cf.* V, 30.

---

[1] *So ACD. The rest of Bergman's MSS. have* praestitit.
[2] *Most of the later MSS. have* urbis.

" soletis," inquit, " conqueri
saevire nos iusto amplius,
cum Christiana corpora
plus quam cruente scindimus.
abest atrocioribus
censura fervens motibus;
blande et quiete efflagito
quod sponte obire debeas.
hunc esse vestris orgiis
moremque et artem proditum est,
hanc disciplinam foederis,
libent ut auro antistites.
argenteis scyphis ferunt
fumare sacrum sanguinem,
auroque nocturnis sacris
adstare fixos cereos.
tum summa cura est fratribus,
ut sermo testatur loquax,
offerre fundis venditis
sestertiorum milia.
addicta avorum praedia
foedis sub auctionibus
successor exheres gemit
sanctis egens parentibus.
haec occuluntur abditis
ecclesiarum in angulis,
et summa pietas creditur
nudare dulces liberos.
deprome thesauros, malis
suadendo quos praestrigiis
exaggeratos obtines,
nigrante quos claudis specu.
hoc poscit usus publicus,
hoc fiscus, hoc aerarium,

shining coins in store. "It is your wont," he says, "to protest that our cruelty goes beyond all justice in cleaving Christian bodies with worse than blood-thirstiness. Here you have no judge whose mind is heated with passions too violent. Softly and calmly I make a request which you should be ready to meet. It has come out that the custom and style of your secret rites, the rule of your brotherhood, is that your priests make offering from vessels of gold. They say the holy blood smokes in silver cups, and that at your services by night the candles stand fixed in golden candlesticks. And then, as common talk keeps on declaring, it is the brethren's chief concern to sell their properties and offer sesterces [a] in thousands. The disinherited heir laments that his grandsires' estates have been knocked down infamously under the hammer; his holy parents have brought him to want. All this wealth is concealed in out-of-the-way corners of your churches, and it is believed to be the greatest piety to leave your dear children destitute. Fetch out your treasures, those piles you amass through your wicked tricks of persuasion and shut up in some dark hole. Our country's need, the emperor's chest, the public treasury call for this step, that the money may be devoted to

[a] The *sestertius*, though a coin of small value, became in the later times of the Republic the unit of account, and large sums were expressed in it.

ut dedita stipendiis
ducem iuvet pecunia.
  sic dogma vestrum est, audio:
suum quibusque reddito.
en Caesar agnoscit suum
nomisma nummis inditum.
  quod Caesaris scis, Caesari
da, nempe iustum postulo.
ni fallor, haud ullam tuus
signat Deus pecuniam,
  nec, cum veniret, aureos
secum Philippos detulit,
praecepta sed verbis dedit,
inanis a marsuppio.
  inplete dictorum fidem
qua [1] vos per orbem venditis:
nummos libenter reddite,
estote verbis divites."
  nil asperum Laurentius
refert ad ista aut turbidum,
sed, ut paratus obsequi,
obtemperanter adnuit.
  " est dives," inquit, " non nego,
habetque nostra ecclesia
opumque et auri plurimum,
nec quisquam in orbe est ditior.
  is ipse tantum non habet
argenteorum aenigmatum
Augustus arcem possidens,
cui nummus omnis scribitur.
  sed nec recuso prodere
locupletis arcam numinis;
vulgabo cuncta et proferam
pretiosa quae Christus tenet.

soldiers' pay and assist our High Commander. Your teaching runs thus, I am told: "Render to each his own." Well then, Caesar recognises his own stamp on your coins. What you know for Caesar's, give to Caesar. It is surely a fair request I make. Your God, I think, stamps no money; nor when He came did He bring golden Philips [a] down with Him, but gave instructions in words, not being furnished with a purse. Make good, then, the credit of his sayings, on the strength of which you cry yourselves up throughout the world. Pay over the money cheerfully and be rich in words."

No rough or quarrelsome answer does Lawrence make to this, but assents willingly, as ready to obey. "Our church is rich," he says, "I make no denial. It has very much wealth and gold, no man in the world is richer. The very Augustus who holds the seat of power and whose inscription is on every coin, has not so many images on silver. Yet I do not object to producing our wealthy God's treasure-chest; I shall divulge and bring forth all the precious possessions of Christ. But one thing I beg and

[a] Properly gold coins struck by Philip II, King of Macedon (d. 336 B.C.). They were current in Greece in Hellenistic times.

---

[1] *Many of the later MSS. have either* quam *or* quae.

unum sed orans flagito,
indutiarum paulum,
quo fungar efficacius
promissionis munere,
dum tota digestim mihi
Christi supellex scribitur;
nam calculanda primitus,
tum subnotanda est summula."
laetus tumescit gaudio
praefectus ac spem [1] devorat,
aurum velut iam conditum
domi maneret gestiens.
pepigere tempus tridui,
laudatus inde absolvitur
Laurentius, sponsor sui
et sponsor ingentis lucri.
tribus per urbem cursitat
diebus infirma agmina
omnesque qui poscunt stipem
cogens in unum et congregans.
illic utrisque obtutibus
orbes cavatos praeferens
baculo regebat praevio
errore nutantem gradum,
et claudus infracto genu,
vel crure trunco semipes,
breviorve planta ex altera
gressum trahebat inparem.
est ulcerosis artubus
qui tabe corrupta fluat,
est cuius arens dextera
nervos in ulnam contrahat.
tales plateis omnibus
exquirit, adsuetos ali

entreat,—a little time of grace, that I may discharge more effectually the task I promise, by making an ordered list of all Christ's belongings; for we must first compute the total, and then note it at the foot." The delighted prefect, ready to burst with joy, greedily enjoys his hope, exulting as if he had the gold already laid in his possession. The bargain is struck for a space of three days, and then Lawrence is commended and dismissed, standing surety for himself and for the vast riches.

For three days he runs about the city gathering into one flock the companies of the infirm and all the beggars for alms. There a man showing two eyeless sockets is directing his straying, faltering step with the guidance of a staff; a cripple with a broken knee, a one-legged man with his other limb cut short, a man with one leg shorter than the other, are dragging unequal steps along. Here is one whose limbs are covered with sores and running with decayed matter, and one whose right hand is withered, the muscles contracted to the elbow. Such people he seeks out through all the public places, men who were wont to be fed from the store of their mother the Church,

---

[1] *Many of the later MSS. have* spe.

ecclesiae matris penu,
quos ipse promus noverat.
  recenset exim singulos
scribens viritim nomina,
longo et locatos ordine
adstare pro templo iubet.
  praescriptus et iam fluxerat
dies: furebat fervidus
iudex avaro spiritu,
promissa solvi efflagitans.
  tum martyr: " adsistas velim
coramque dispositas opes
mirere, quas noster Deus
praedives in sanctis habet.
  videbis ingens atrium
fulgere vasis aureis,
et per patentes porticus
structos talentis ordines."
  it ille nec pudet sequi.
ventum ad sacratam ianuam,
stabant catervae pauperum,
inculta visu examina.
  fragor rogantum tollitur:
praefectus horrescit stupens,
conversus in Laurentium,
oculisque turbatis minax.
  contra ille, " quid frendens," ait,
" minitaris? aut quid displicet?
num sordida haec aut vilia,
num despuenda existimas?
  aurum, quod ardenter sitis,
effossa gignunt rudera
et de metallis squalidis
poenalis excudit labor,

and whom as her steward he knew before. Then he reviews them one by one, writing down each man's name, and makes them stand posted in a long line in the forefront of the church.

By this the prescribed time had passed, and the judge was beside himself with the vehemence of his covetous spirit as he called for payment of the promise. Then said the martyr: "Pray give us your presence, and marvel at the wealth set out before you, which our exceeding rich God has in his sanctuaries. You will see the great nave gleaming with vessels of gold, and along the open colonnades course on course of precious metal." So he went, not thinking it beneath him to follow. They reached the hallowed door, and there stood the companies of poor men in their swarms, a ragged sight. Up rises a din of beggars' appeals, and the prefect, startled and amazed, turns to Lawrence with menace in his angry eyes. But Lawrence counters: "Why do you rage and threaten? What displeases you? Do you think all this mean or worthless, only to be scorned? Gold, for which you thirst vehemently, is got from rubbish dug out of the earth; penal labour [a] ex-

[a] Penal servitude was introduced under the Empire. During the persecutions many Christians were condemned to labour in the mines, which belonged to the state.

torrens vel amnis turbidis
volvens harenis inplicat;
quod terrulentum ac sordidum
flammis necesse est decoqui.
pudor per aurum solvitur,
violatur auro integritas,
pax occidit, fides perit,
leges et ipsae intercidunt.
quid tu venenum gloriae
extollis et magni putas?
si quaeris aurum verius,
lux est et humanum genus.
hi sunt alumni luminis,
quos corpus artat debile,
ne per salutem viscerum
mens insolescat turgida.
cum membra morbus dissicit,
animus viget robustior,
membris vicissim fortibus
vis sauciatur sensuum.
nam sanguis in culpam calens
minus ministrat virium
si fervor effetus malis
elumbe virus contrahat.
si forte detur optio,
malim dolore asperrimo
fragmenta membrorum pati
et pulcher intus vivere.
committe formas pestium
et confer alternas lues:
carnisne morbus foedior,
an mentis et morum ulcera?
nostri per artus debiles
intus decoris integri

cavates it from dirty mines; or a rushing river rolls it down enwrapped in its muddy sand; and being earthy and dirty it has to be refined with fire. By means of gold the bonds of modesty are unloosed and innocence is outraged, through it peace comes to an end, honour dies, the very law itself lapses away. Why do you exalt the poison of glory and hold it of great worth? If you seek gold that is more real, it is the light and the race of men. These are foster-children of light, confined by a feeble body lest through the well-being of their flesh their spirit should swell with pride. When disease rives the body the spirit is stronger in activity, but again when the members are stout the force of the spirit is hurt. For the blood is hot for sin, but it furnishes less force if its heat is exhausted by bodily ills and it contracts a poison which enfeebles it. If haply I had to choose, I would rather bear with broken members under the cruellest pain and be handsome in my inner self. Match together the natures of the ills that plague us, compare our calamities of either kind: is disease of the flesh the more loathsome, or the sores on soul and character? Our people are weakly in body, but

sensum venusti innoxium
laboris [1] expertes gerunt.
  vestros valentes corpore
interna corrumpit lepra,
errorque mancum claudicat
et caeca fraus nihil videt.
  quemvis tuorum principum,[1]
qui veste et ore praenitent,
magis probabo debilem
quam quis meorum est pauperum.
  hunc, qui superbit serico,
quem currus inflatum vehit,
hydrops aquosus lucido
tendit veneno intrinsecus.
  ast hic avarus contrahit
manus recurvas et volam
plicans aduncis unguibus
laxare nervos non valet.
  istum libido foetida
per scorta tractum publica
luto et cloacis inquinat,
dum spurca mendicat stupra.
  quid? ille fervens ambitu
sitimque honoris aestuans
mersisne anhelat febribus
atque igne venarum furit?
  quisquis tacendi intemperans
silenda prurit prodere,
vexatur et scalpit iecur
scabiemque cordis sustinet.
  quid invidorum pectorum
strumas retexam turgidas?
quid purulenta et livida
malignitatum vulnera?

within they have beauty unimpaired, they are comely and free from distress and bear a soul that has no hurt. But yours, while strong in body, are corrupted by an inner leprosy, their superstition halts like one that is maimed, their self-deception is blind and sightless. Any of your great men, who make a brave show in dress and features, I shall prove feebler than any of my poor men. Here is one who vaunts himself in his silk and is puffed up with pride as he rides in his chariot, but a watery dropsy of the soul within distends him with its transparent poison. And here is another who in his greed crooks his hands and draws them close, his palm doubled, his finger-nails like hooks, and cannot relax the tendons. This other is dragged by foul lust among public harlots and polluted with mire and filth as he goes a-begging after dirty whorings. And he there, who seeks hotly for advancement and burns with thirst for rank, is he not panting with fevers underneath and maddened by the fire in his veins? Whoso wants the self-control to be silent and has a restless urge to betray secrets suffers tortures from the irritation of his passion and the constant itch in his heart. You do not need me to recount the scrofulous swellings in envious breasts, or the discoloured, festering sores of

---

[1] *Many MSS.* (*including B*) *have* languoris *in line* 228 *and* divitum, *not* principum, *in* 233.

tute ipse, qui Romam regis,
contemptor aeterni Dei,
dum daemonum sordes colis,
morbo laboras regio.
hi, quos superbus despicis,
quos execrandos iudicas,
brevi ulcerosos exuent
artus et incolumes erunt,
cum carne corruptissima
tandem soluti ac liberi
pulcherrimo vitae statu
in arce lucebunt Patris,
non sordidati aut debiles,
sicut videntur interim,
sed purpurantibus stolis
clari et coronis aureis.
tunc, si facultas subpetat,
coram tuis obtutibus
istos potentes saeculi
velim recensendos dari.
pannis videres obsitos
et mucculentis naribus,
mentum salivis uvidum,
lipposque palpebra putri.
peccante nil est taetrius,
nil tam leprosum aut putidum;
cruda est cicatrix criminum
oletque ut antrum Tartari.
animabus inversa vice
corrupta forma infligitur,
quas pulcher aspectus prius
in corpore oblectaverat.
en ergo nummos aureos,
quos proxime spoponderam,

malice. You yourself who rule over Rome, who despise the everlasting God, worshipping foul devils, are suffering from the ruler's sickness.[a] These men, whom in your pride you scorn and count detestable, will soon put off their sore-ridden bodies and be in sound health, when they shall be loosed and free at last from the most corrupt flesh and in the most beauteous condition of life shine in their Father's house on high, no longer dirty or feeble as for the present they appear, but bright with gleaming robes and golden crowns. Then, if it were possible, I would have these great men of the world put for review before your eyes. You would see them covered with rags, snivelling at the nose, their chins wet with their slaver, their eyes purblind and mattering on the lids. There is nothing fouler than a sinner, nothing so leprous or rotten; the wound of his sins keeps bleeding and stinks like the pit of hell. The tables are turned and a corrupted figure is imposed on souls which formerly had delight in a comely presence in the body. Here then are the golden coins which a short while ago I promised,

[a] Jaundice. *Cf.* Celsus, *De Medicina*, III, 24.

quos nec favillis obruat
ruina nec fur subtrahat.
  nunc addo gemmas nobiles,
ne pauperem Christum putes,
gemmas corusci luminis,
ornatur hoc templum quibus.
  cernis sacratas virgines,
miraris intactas anus
primique post damnum tori
ignis secundi nescias.
  hoc est monile ecclesiae,
his illa gemmis comitur;
dotata sic Christo placet,
sic ornat altum verticem.
  eccum talenta, suscipe.
ornabis urbem Romulam,
ditabis et rem principis,
fies et ipse ditior."
" ridemur," exclamat furens [1]
praefectus, " et miris modis
per tot figuras ludimur:
et vivit insanum caput!
  inpune tantas, furcifer,
strophas cavillo mimico
te nexuisse existimas,
dum scurra saltas fabulam?
  concinna visa urbanitas
tractare nosmet ludicris?
egon [2] cachinnis venditus
acroma festivum fui?
  adeone nulla austeritas,
censura nulla est fascibus?
adeon securem publicam
mollis retudit lenitas?

coins which tumbling walls cannot bury under burning ashes, nor thief carry away by stealth. And now I give you noble jewels also, so that you need not think Christ is poor, jewels of flashing light with which this temple is adorned. You see the consecrated virgins, and marvel at the pure old women who after the loss of their first husbands have known no second love. These are the Church's necklace, the jewels with which she decks herself; thus dowered she is pleasing to Christ, and thus she adorns her high head. There are her riches, take them up; with them you will adorn the city of Romulus and enrich the emperor's estate, and yourself be made richer too."

"He is mocking us," cries the prefect, mad with rage, "making wonderful sport of us with all this allegory. And yet the madman lives! Think you, rascal, to get off with contriving such trickeries with your comedian's quibbling and theatrical buffoonery?[a] Did you think it neat pleasantry to make a butt of *me*? Have you made your guffaws out of *me* and turned me into a merry piece of entertainment? Have the magisterial rods so wholly lost their stern control? Has gentle lenity so blunted the axe of

[a] The phrase *saltare fabulam* properly applies to the *pantomimus*, who acted in dumb show; but the low-comedy *mimus* dealt much in gesticulation.

---

[1] *Some MSS.* (*including B*) *have* fremens.
[2] ergon *B*.

dicis, ' libenter oppetam,
votiva mors est martyri.'
est ista vobis, novimus,
persuasionis vanitas.
sed non volenti inpertiam
praestetur ut mortis citae
conpendiosus exitus,
perire raptim non dabo.
vitam tenebo et differam
poenis morarum iugibus,
et mors inextricabilis
longos dolores protrahet.
prunas tepentes sternite,
ne fervor ignitus nimis
os contumacis occupet
et cordis intret abdita.
vapor senescens langueat,
qui fusus adflatu levi
tormenta sensim temperet
semustulati corporis.
bene est quod ipse ex omnibus
mysteriarches incidit;
hic solus exemplum dabit
quid mox timere debeant.
conscende constratum rogum,
decumbe digno lectulo;
tunc, si libebit, disputa
nil esse Vulcanum meum."
haec fante praefecto truces
hinc inde tortores parant
nudare amictu martyrem,
vincire membra et tendere.
illi os decore splenduit
fulgorque circumfusus est.

authority? You say 'I am ready to die; to the martyr death is an object of desire.' You Christians have, we know, this vain persuasion. But I shall not grant your wish to be presented with a short way to your end in a quick death. I shall not let you die in a hurry. I shall hold on to your life and prolong it through slow, unceasing punishments; a death which keeps you fast in its toils will drag out long-lasting pains. Lay the coals not too hot, so that the heat shall not be too fiery and seize on the stiff-necked fellow's face and get into the depths of his breast. Let its hot breath die down and languish so as to pour out with no strong gust but by degrees temper the torments and only scorch his body.[a] It is well that of them all the head of their secret rites has fallen into our hands, for he by himself will furnish an example of what they next must fear. Get up on to the pyre they have laid for you, lie down on the bed you deserve; and then, if you like, argue that my god of fire is nothing."

While the prefect was thus speaking, the cruel tormentors all around were making ready to strip the martyr of his robe and bind his limbs and stretch them out. His face shone with beauty and a glory was shed around him. Such was the countenance

[a] He was laid on the gridiron, cf. line 398; ("craticulae impositus," Augustine, *Sermon* 302).

talem revertens legifer
de monte vultum detulit,
  Iudaea quem plebs aureo
bove inquinata et decolor
expavit et faciem retro
detorsit inpatiens Dei.
  talemque et ille praetulit
oris corusci gloriam
Stephanus per imbrem saxeum
caelos apertos intuens.
  inluminatum hoc eminus
recens piatis fratribus,
baptisma quos nuper datum
Christi capaces fecerat;
  ast inpiorum caecitas,
os oblitum noctis situ
nigrante sub velamine
obducta, clarum non videt,
  Aegyptiae plagae in modum,
quae, cum tenebris barbaros
damnaret, Hebraeis diem
sudo exhibebat lumine.
  quin ipsa odoris qualitas
adusta quam reddit cutis
diversa utrosque permovet:
his nidor, illis nectar est,
  idemque sensus dispari
variatus aura aut adficit
horrore nares vindice
aut mulcet oblectamine.
  sic ignis aeternus Deus,
nam Christus ignis verus est;
is ipse conplet lumine
iustos et urit noxios.

that the bearer of the law brought down from the mountain on his return, and the Jewish people, having stained and tarnished itself with the golden ox, was greatly afraid of him and turned its face away because it could not bear the presence of God.[a] Such again was the glory which Stephen presented shining on his face as amid the rain of stones he gazed at the open heavens.[b] This was made visible farther off to the brethren lately cleansed from sin, whom baptism given not long before had made fit to receive Christ; but the blind eyes of the ungodly, their face being covered over with the blackness of night and enveloped under a veil of darkness, saw not the brilliance. It was like the Egyptian plague which, while it condemned the barbarians to darkness, gave to the Hebrews the clear light of day.[c] Even the very nature of the smell arising from the scorched skin gave the two parties contrary sensations: to the one it was the smell of roasting, to the other the scent of nectar; the same sense, varied by a different aura, in the one case brought on the nostrils an avenging horror, in the other charmed them with delight. So is God an everlasting fire; for Christ is the true fire, it is He who fills the righteous with light and burns the guilty.

[a] Exodus xxxii, xxxiv, 29–30.
[b] Acts vii, 55 ff.
[c] Exodus x, 22–23.

postquam vapor diutinus
decoxit exustum latus,
ultro e catasta iudicem
conpellat adfatu brevi:
" converte partem corporis
satis crematam iugiter,
et fac periclum, quid tuus
Vulcanus ardens egerit."
praefectus inverti iubet.
tunc ille: " coctum est, devora,
et experimentum cape
sit crudum an assum suavius."
haec ludibundus dixerat,
caelum deinde suspicit,
et congemescens obsecrat
miseratus urbem Romulam:
" o Christe, nomen [1] unicum,
o splendor, o virtus Patris,
o factor orbis et poli,
atque auctor horum moenium,
qui sceptra Romae in vertice
rerum locasti, sanciens
mundum Quirinali togae
servire et armis cedere,
ut discrepantum gentium
mores et observantiam
linguasque et ingenia et sacra
unis domares legibus,
en omne sub regnum Remi
mortale concessit genus,
idem loquuntur dissoni
ritus, id ipsum sentiunt.
hoc destinatum quo magis
ius Christiani nominis,

After the long-continued heat has burned his side away, Lawrence on his own part hails the judge and addresses him briefly from the gridiron: "This part of my body has been burned long enough; turn it round and try what your hot god of fire has done." So the prefect orders him to be turned about, and then "It is done," says Lawrence; "eat it up, try whether it is nicer raw or roasted." These words spoken in jest, he then looks up to heaven, and sighing deeply prays in pity for the city of Romulus: "O Christ, the one name, the glory and strength of the Father, creator of earth and sky and founder of this city, who hast set the sceptre of the world on Rome's high citadel, ordaining that the world obey the toga of Quirinus [a] and yield to his arms, that thou might'st bring under one system of laws the customs and observance, the speech and character and worship of nations which differed among themselves; lo, the whole race of men has passed under the sovereignty of Remus, and usages formerly discordant are now alike in speech and thought. This was appointed that the authority of the Christian

[a] *Contra Symm.* II, 305.

---

[1] *Most of the later MSS. have* numen.

quodcumque terrarum iacet,
uno inligaret vinculo.
  da, Christe, Romanis tuis
sit Christiana ut civitas,
per quam dedisti ut ceteris
mens una sacrorum foret.
  confoederantur omnia
hinc inde membra in symbolum.
mansuescit orbis subditus,
mansuescat et summum caput.
  advertat abiunctas plagas
coire in unam gratiam;
fiat fidelis Romulus,
et ipse iam credat Numa.
  confundit error Troicus
adhuc Catonum curiam,
veneratus occultis focis
Phrygum penates exules.
  Ianum bifrontem et Sterculum
colit senatus (horreo
tot monstra patrum dicere)
et festa Saturni senis.
  absterge, Christe, hoc dedecus,
emitte Gabriel tuum,
agnoscat ut verum Deum
errans Iuli caecitas.
  et iam tenemus obsides
fidissimos huius spei,
hic nempe iam regnant duo
apostolorum principes,
  alter vocator gentium,
alter cathedram possidens

[a] Cf. *Contra Symm.* I, 545.

name might bind with one tie all lands everywhere. Grant, O Christ, to thy Romans that the city by which Thou hast granted to all others to be of one mind in worship, may itself be Christian. All its members everywhere are now allied in one confession of faith. The world it has subdued grows peaceable; may the supreme head too grow peaceable. May she see that countries far apart are uniting in one state of grace, and may Romulus become one of the faithful, and Numa himself be now a believer. The superstition which came from Troy still confounds a senate of Catos,[a] doing homage at secret altars to the Phrygians' exiled Penates.[b] The senate worships Janus of the two faces and Sterculus[c] (I shudder to name all these monstrosities our Fathers own) and keeps the festival of old Saturn.[d] Wipe away this shame, O Christ; send forth thy servant Gabriel that the straying blindness of Julus[e] may recognise the true God. Already we hold most trusty sureties for this hope, for already there reign here the two chiefs of the apostles,[f] the one he who called the Gentiles, while the other

[b] Cf. *Contra Symm.* II, 970–2, *Aeneid* III, 148–150. The Penates of the city of Rome (as distinct from the Penates of a private house) had their seat in the temple of Vesta (cf. e.g. Tacitus, *Annals* XV, 41), which none but the Vestals and the pontifex maximus might enter. There was however a public *aedes deum penatium* in the Velian district of Rome.

[c] Janus as guardian spirit of entrances is represented by a head with faces looking outwards and inwards. Sterculus was credited with introducing the practice of manuring the land.

[d] Cf. *Contra Symm.* II, 859.

[e] The son of Aeneas. The Julii claimed descent from him.

[f] St. Peter and St. Paul. See XII.

primam recludit creditas
aeternitatis ianuas.
  discede, adulter Iuppiter,
stupro sororis oblite,
relinque Romam liberam,
plebemque iam Christi fuge.
  te Paulus hinc exterminat,
te sanguis exturbat Petri,
tibi id, quod ipse armaveras,
factum Neronis officit.
  video futurum principem
quandoque, qui servus Dei
taetris sacrorum sordibus
servire Romam non sinat,
  qui templa claudat vectibus,
valvas eburnas obstruat,
nefasta damnet limina,
obdens aenos pessulos.
  tunc pura ab omni sanguine
tandem nitebunt marmora,
stabunt et aera innoxia,
quae nunc habentur idola."
  hic finis orandi fuit
et finis idem vinculi
carnalis: erupit volens
vocem secutus spiritus.
  vexere corpus subditis
cervicibus quidam patres,
quos mira libertas viri
ambire Christum suaserat.
  repens medullas indoles
adflarat et coegerat
amore sublimis Dei
odisse nugas pristinas.

occupies the foremost chair and opens the gates of eternity which were committed to his keeping. Away, thou lecherous Jupiter, defiled with the violation of thy sister! Leave Rome at liberty, flee from her people, who now are Christ's. Paul banishes thee hence, the blood of Peter drives thee out. That deed of Nero's [a] for which thou didst put the sword in his hand hurts *thee*. I foresee that one day there will be an emperor who will be the servant of God and will not suffer Rome to be in the service of vile, abominable rites, but will shut and bar her temples, block up their ivory doors, close their unholy entrances and make them fast with bolts of brass. Then at last will her marbles shine bright because they will be cleansed from all blood, and the statues that stand in bronze, which now she thinks of as idols, will be guiltless." [b]

So ended his prayer, and with it ended his imprisonment in the flesh; the spirit broke forth eagerly after his words. Certain senators carried the body on their shoulders, whom the hero's marvellous independence had persuaded to seek the favour of Christ. A new disposition had suddenly inspired their inmost hearts and from love of the most high God constrained them to hate their old-time follies. From that day

[a] The execution of the two apostles.

[b] It is noteworthy that Prudentius (in spite of *Contra Symm.* II, 64) is not an iconoclast; he approves of the preservation of these statues as works of art. Cf. *Contra Symm.* I, 501–5 and Introduction, vol. I, p. viii.

refrixit ex illo die
cultus deorum turpium:
plebs in sacellis rarior,
Christi ad tribunal curritur.
sic dimicans Laurentius
non ense praecinxit latus,
hostile sed ferrum retro
torquens in auctorem tulit.
dum daemon invictum Dei
testem lacessit proelio,
perfossus ipse concidit
et stratus aeternum iacet.
mors illa sancti martyris
mors vera templorum fuit;
tunc Vesta Palladios Lares
inpune sensit deseri.
quidquid Quiritum sueverat
orare simpuvium Numae,
Christi frequentans atria
hymnis resultat martyrem.
ipsa et senatus lumina,
quondam luperci aut flamines,
apostolorum et martyrum
exosculantur limina.
videmus inlustres domos,
sexu ex utroque nobiles,
offerre votis pignera
clarissimorum liberum.
vittatus olim pontifex
adscitur in signum crucis,
aedemque, Laurenti, tuam
Vestalis intrat Claudia.
O ter quaterque et septies
beatus urbis incola,

the worship of those base gods flagged, the people were seen in smaller numbers at their shrines, and there was a rush to the sanctuary of Christ. In this warfare Lawrence did not gird a sword on his side, but turned back the foe's steel against its wielder. In making war on God's indomitable witness, the devil was stabbed himself and fell, and now lies prostrate for ever. The death the holy martyr died was in truth the death of the temples. That day Vesta saw her Palladian house-spirits [a] deserted and no vengeance follow. All the Romans who used to reverence Numa's libation-cup [b] now crowd the churches of Christ and sound the martyr's name in hymns. The very ornaments of the senate, men who once served as Luperci [c] or flamens, now eagerly kiss the thresholds of apostles and martyrs. We see distinguished families, where both sides are high-born, dedicate their dear ones, their noble children. The priest who once wore the head-bands is admitted to receive the sign of the cross and, Lawrence, a Vestal Claudia [d] enters thy church.

O thrice and four times, yea seven times blessed

[a] On the Lares see Bailey, *Phases in the Religion of Ancient Rome*, pp. 102–105. The epithet "Palladian" is suggested by the existence of the *palladium* in the temple of Vesta, to which it was said to have been brought from Troy (cf. *Contra Symm.* I, 195), and so implies the most ancient sanctity.

[b] *I.e.* rites which go back to the founder of Roman religious institutions. *Cf.* Juvenal, *Sat.* 6, 342–5.

[c] See *Contra Symm.* II, 862. A flamen was a priest assigned to the service of a particular deity.

[d] The name is perhaps chosen as representative of ancient nobility, perhaps also with reference to the famous Claudia Quinta, who proved her chastity when the Magna Mater was being landed at Ostia (*Contra Symm.* I, 187, Ovid, *Fasti*, IV, 291 ff.).

qui te ac tuorum comminus
sedem celebrat ossuum,
  cui propter advolvi licet,
qui fletibus spargit locum,
qui pectus in terram premit,
qui vota fundit murmure.
  nos Vasco Hiberus dividit
binis remotos Alpibus,
trans Cottianorum iuga,
trans et Pyrenas ninguidos.
  vix fama nota est, abditis
quam plena sanctis Roma sit,
quam dives urbanum solum
sacris sepulcris floreat.
  sed qui caremus his bonis
nec sanguinis vestigia
videre coram possumus,
caelum intuemur eminus.
  sic, sancte Laurenti, tuam
nos passionem quaerimus:
est aula nam duplex tibi,
hic corporis, mentis polo.
  illic inenarrabili
allectus urbi municeps
aeternae in arce curiae
gestas coronam civicam.
  videor videre inlustribus
gemmis coruscantem virum,
quem Roma caelestis sibi
legit perennem consulem.
  quae sit potestas credita
et muneris quantum datum,
probant Quiritum gaudia,
quibus rogatus adnuis.

the dweller in Rome, who pays honour to thee and the abode of thy bones in presence, who can kneel by them, who sprinkles the spot with his tears, bowing his breast to the ground and in a low voice pouring out his prayers! Us the Vascon Ebro separates from thee, we are far removed beyond two mountain-ranges, across the Cottian heights [a] and the snowy Pyrenees. Scarcely even have we heard report how full Rome is of buried saints, how richly her city's soil blossoms with holy tombs. Still though we lack these blessings and cannot see the traces of blood with our own eyes, we look up to heaven on high. It is thus, holy Lawrence, that we seek thy passion; for thou hast two seats, that of thy body here on earth, that of thy soul in heaven. Admitted there as a freeman of the ineffable city, thou wearest the civic crown [b] in that Capitol where sits the everlasting senate. I think I see the hero flashing with brilliant jewels, whom the heavenly Rome has chosen to be her perpetual consul. The power entrusted to thee, the greatness of the function assigned to thee, is proved by the rejoicings of Rome's citizens, to whose requests thou givest assent. What each one asks in prayer, he has

[a] The Cottian Alps, between Italy and southern Gaul.

[b] This was a wreath of oak-leaves awarded to a soldier in the Roman army for saving the life of a fellow-soldier in the field.

quod quisque supplex postulat,
fert inpetratum prospere;
poscunt, iocantur,[1] indicant,
et tristis haud ullus redit,
ceu praesto semper adsies
tuosque alumnos urbicos
lactante conplexus sinu
paterno amore nutrias.
hos inter, o Christi decus,
audi poetam rusticum
cordis fatentem crimina
et facta prodentem sua.
indignus, agnosco et scio,
quem Christus ipse exaudiat,
sed per patronos martyras
potest medellam consequi.
audi benignus supplicem
Christi reum Prudentium,
et servientem corpori
absolve vinclis saeculi.

III

Hymnus in Honorem Passionis Eulaliae Beatissimae Martyris.

Germine nobilis Eulalia
mortis et indole nobilior
Emeritam sacra virgo suam,
cuius ab ubere progenita est,
ossibus ornat, amore colit.

[1] *Three of Bergman's later MSS. have* laetantur, *which is unmetrical. Editors before Bergman commonly print* litantur, *which would be a unique instance of the deponent, or*

happily granted him. They ask, and are gay, and tell, and none returns home sorrowful; it is as if thou wert ever by their side to help, taking thy foster-children of the city to the richness of thy breast and feeding them with a father's love. Among them, thou glory of Christ, listen to a country poet as he acknowledges the sins of his heart and confesses his deeds. He is unworthy, I know and own, that Christ himself should hearken to him; but through the advocacy of the martyrs he may attain to healing. Be thou gracious and hear the prayer of Prudentius who stands arraigned by Christ, and set him free from the fetters of the world where he is in bondage to the body.

III

A Hymn in Honour of the Passion of the Most Blessed Martyr Eulalia.

Noble of stock, and nobler still in the quality of her death, the holy maid Eulalia honours with her bones and tends with her love her own Emerita,[a] the town that gave her birth. Far in the west lies

[a] Augusta Emerita in Lusitania, now Merida.

licenter. *Modern conjectures are* precantur (*Alfonsi*), rogant et vindicant (*Lavarenne*).

proximus occiduo locus est
qui tulit hoc decus egregium,
urbe potens, populis locuples,
sed mage sanguine martyrii
virgineoque potens titulo.
curriculis tribus atque novem
tres hiemes quater adtigerat,
cum crepitante pyra trepidos
terruit aspera carnifices,
supplicium sibi dulce rata.
iam dederat prius indicium
tendere se Patris ad solium
nec sua membra dicata toro:
ipsa crepundia reppulerat,
ludere nescia pusiola;
spernere sucina, flare [1] rosas,
fulva monilia respuere,
ore severa, modesta gradu,
moribus et nimium teneris
canitiem meditata senum.
ast ubi se furiata luis
excitat in famulos Domini
Christicolasque cruenta iubet
tura cremare, iecur pecudis
mortiferis adolere deis,
infremuit sacer Eulaliae
spiritus, ingeniique ferox
turbida frangere bella parat,
et rude pectus anhela Deo
femina provocat arma virum.
sed pia cura parentis agit
virgo animosa domi ut lateat
abdita rure et ab urbe procul,
ne fera sanguinis in pretium

the place that has won this signal honour; as a city, great and populous, but greater through the blood of martyrdom and a maiden's tombstone. In twelve courses of the sun twelve winters had she seen, when on the crackling pyre her hardihood struck terror into her trembling executioners, for she counted her suffering a pleasure to herself. Already she had given a sign that her face was set towards the Father's throne and her body not destined for marriage; for even as a little girl she had put toys from her and was a stranger to fun; she would scorn amber beads, scout roses, spurn golden necklaces; she was grave of face, sober in her gait, and in the ways of her tenderest years practised the manner of hoary age.

Now when the raging scourge was working himself up against the servants of the Lord and with bloody mind commanding that the followers of Christ should burn incense and offer burnt sacrifice of the livers of cattle to gods who brought death, Eulalia's holy courage made loud protest. With her bold spirit she made ready to shatter the violent onslaught, and with the heart in her young breast panting for God, female as she was she challenged the weapons of men. But her mother's loving care sought to keep the high-spirited damsel at home out of notice, buried in the country at a distance from the town, lest the self-willed girl rush to expend her blood from

[1] *Bergman reads* flere *with A and most of his MSS. B has* flore. flare *comes from one MS. only* (*U*). *See Meyer, Philologus, xciii,* 377 *ff. Cf.* X 920 (insufflat).

mortis amore puella ruat.
  illa perosa quietis opem
degeneri tolerare mora
nocte fores sine teste movet
saeptaque claustra fugax aperit,
inde per invia carpit iter.
  ingreditur pedibus laceris
per loca senta situ et vepribus
angelico comitata choro,
et licet horrida nox sileat,
lucis habet tamen illa ducem.
  sic habuit generosa patrum
turba columniferum radium,
scindere qui tenebrosa potens
nocte viam face perspicua
praestitit intereunte chao.
  non aliter pia virgo viam
nocte secuta diem meruit
nec tenebris adoperta fuit,
regna Canopica cum fugeret
et super astra pararet iter.
  illa gradu cita pervigili
milia multa prius peragit
quam plaga pandat Eoa polum;
mane superba tribunal adit
fascibus adstat et in mediis
  vociferans: " rogo, quis furor est
perdere praecipites animas
et male prodiga corda sui
sternere rasilibus scopulis,
omnipatremque negare Deum?
  quaeritis, o miseranda manus,
Christicolum genus? en ego sum
daemonicis inimica sacris,

the love of death. She, hating to let herself be saved by keeping quiet and hanging back like a coward, opens the door by night with none to see, makes her escape through the enclosing fence, and then pursues her way across the wilds. With torn feet she passes over a rough waste overgrown with briers, but she is accompanied by a troop of angels, and for all the gruesome silence of the night she still has light to guide her. So it was that the noble company of the patriarchs had a beam in the shape of a pillar which, being able to pierce the gloom, showed them the way by night with its bright flame and the darkness was done away.[a] Like them, the devoted girl was deemed worthy to have the light of day as she followed her course in the night, and was not covered with darkness as she fled from the realm of Egypt, winning a way beyond the stars. Stepping quickly all through the night she covers many a mile ere the eastern quarter opens up the sky; and in the morning presents herself haughtily at the seat of authority, standing there amid the symbols of power and calling out: "What madness is this, I ask, that makes you send your souls headlong to destruction and bow down before smoothed stones hearts all too ready to throw themselves away, denying God who is the Father of all? Seek ye, O pitiable company, the people who worship Christ? Here am I, a foe to the worship of evil spirits; I trample idols

[a] Exodus xiii, 21.

idola protero sub pedibus,
pectore et ore Deum fateor.
  Isis, Apollo, Venus nihil est,
Maximianus et ipse nihil:
illa nihil, quia facta manu,
hic manuum quia facta colit,
frivola utraque et utraque nihil.
  Maximianus, opum dominus
et tamen ipse cliens lapidum,
prostituat voveatque suis
numinibus caput ipse suum:
pectora cur generosa quatit?
  dux bonus, arbiter egregius,
sanguine pascitur innocuo,
corporibusque piis inhians
viscera sobria dilacerat,
gaudet et excruciare fidem.
  ergo age, tortor, adure, seca,
divide membra coacta luto.
solvere rem fragilem facile est:
non penetrabitur interior
exagitante dolore animus."
  talibus excitus in furias
praetor ait: " rape praecipitem,
lictor, et obrue suppliciis.
sentiat esse deos patrios
nec leve principis imperium.
  quam cuperem tamen ante necem,
si potis est, revocare tuam,
torva puellula, nequitiam.
respice gaudia quanta metas,
quae tibi fert genialis honor.
  te lacrimis labefacta domus
prosequitur generisque tui

under foot, and with heart and lips I confess God. Isis, Apollo, Venus—they are naught; Maximian [a] himself too is naught; they because they are works of men's hands, he because he worships the works of men's hands, both worthless, both naught. Though Maximian, lord of power and yet himself in vassalage to figures of stone, prostitute himself to his gods and make himself over to them, why does he persecute noble hearts? Your good captain, your excellent ruler, feeds on innocent blood; hungering for the bodies of the godly, he tears their continent flesh and delights in torturing the faithful. Come then, tormentor, burn, slash, cut up my body. It was put together of clay; it is easy to destroy so frail a thing. But the racking pain will not reach the spirit within."

Roused to fury by such words the governor cries: "Away with her, lictor! Heap tortures on her. Let her see that the gods of our fathers exist and the emperor's command is no light thing. And yet how much I would desire before you die, if it may be, fierce young girl, to turn back your wickedness! Think of the great joys you are cutting off, which the honourable state of marriage offers you. The family you

[a] Colleague of Diocletian as emperor from 286 to 305. Spain was under his charge.

ingemit anxia nobilitas,
flore [1] quod occidis in tenero,
proxima dotibus et thalamis.
  non movet aurea pompa tori,
non pietas veneranda senum,
quos temeraria debilitas?
ecce parata ministeria
excruciabilis exitii:
  aut gladio feriere caput,
aut laniabere membra feris,
aut facibus data fumificis
flebiliterque ululanda tuis
in cineres resoluta flues.
  haec, rogo, quis labor est fugere?
si modicum salis eminulis
turis et exiguum digitis
tangere, virgo, benigna velis,
poena gravis procul afuerit."
  martyr ad ista nihil; sed enim
infremit inque tyranni oculos
sputa iacit, simulacra dehinc
dissipat inpositamque molam
turibulis pede prosubigit.
  nec mora, carnifices gemini
iuncea pectora dilacerant
et latus ungula virgineum
pulsat utrimque et ad ossa secat
Eulalia numerante notas.
" scriberis ecce mihi, Domine.
quam iuvat hos apices legere
qui tua, Christe, tropaea notant!
nomen et ipsa sacrum loquitur
purpura sanguinis eliciti."
  haec sine fletibus et gemitu

are bereaving follows you with tears, your noble stock mourns over you in distress, because you are dying in the bloom of youth when you are just reaching the age of dowry and wedlock.[a] Does not a rich and splendid marriage appeal to you, nor the love of your elders, which you ought to respect, whereas your rash conduct is breaking their hearts? You see here in readiness the agents of a death of torture. You will be beheaded with the sword, or your limbs will be torn by wild beasts, or you will be delivered to the smoking brands to be destroyed and reduced to ashes, for your friends to mourn you with weeping and cries of woe. I put it to you, what effort would it cost to avoid all this? If, damsel, you would be so obliging as just to put out your fingers and touch a little of the salt and a tiny grain of the incense, you would escape the cruel suffering."

The martyr answers never a word; howbeit with a loud cry she spits into the tyrant's eyes and then scatters the images and with her foot kicks over the meal laid on the censers. In a moment two executioners are tearing her slim breast, the claw striking her two girlish sides and cutting to the bone, while Eulalia counts the marks. "See, Lord," she says, "thy name is being written on me. How I love to read these letters, for they record thy victories, O Christ, and the very scarlet of the blood that is drawn speaks the holy name." These words she uttered

[a] There are numerous instances of the marriage of Roman girls at this early age.

---

[1] *Bergman reads* sole *with A, comparing Psych.* 845.

laeta canebat et intrepida;
dirus abest dolor ex animo,
membraque picta cruore novo
fonte cutem recalente lavant.
  ultima carnificina dehinc,
non laceratio vulnifica,
crate tenus nec arata cutis,
flamma sed undique lampadibus
in latera stomachumque furit.
  crinis odorus ut in iugulos
fluxerat involitans umeris,
quo pudibunda pudicitia
virgineusque lateret honos,
tegmine verticis opposito,
  flamma crepans volat in faciem
perque comas vegetata caput
occupat exsuperatque apicem;
virgo citum cupiens obitum
appetit et bibit ore rogum.
  emicat inde columba repens
martyris os nive candidior
visa relinquere et astra sequi;
spiritus hic erat Eulaliae
lacteolus, celer, innocuus.
  colla fluunt abeunte anima
et rogus igneus emoritur;
pax datur artubus exanimis,
flatus in aethere plaudit ovans
templaque celsa petit volucer.
  vidit et ipse satelles avem
feminae ab ore meare palam,
obstupefactus et adtonitus
prosilit et sua gesta fugit,
lictor et ipse fugit pavidus.

with never a tear or moan, cheerful and undismayed; the dreadful pain did not reach her spirit while the fresh blood was colouring her body and washing her skin in its warm stream.

Then comes the final torture, not the rending of wounds, not the ploughing up of the skin down to the ribs, but a fire from flambeaux set all round and raging against her sides and front. Her fragrant hair has streamed on to her neck and flowed over her shoulders to shield her bashful modesty and the grace of her maidenhood behind the covering of her head, and the roaring flames, quickened by her locks, rush upon her face and seize on her head, surmounting its top; and the maid, desiring a speedy end, eagerly draws the fire in through her mouth. Thence all at once a dove whiter than snow springs forth; they see it leave the martyr's mouth and make for the stars. It was Eulalia's spirit, milk-white, swift, and sinless. Her head droops as the soul departs, and the burning fire dies down; peace is granted to the lifeless body, while the spirit far up claps her wings in triumph and flies off to the heavenly regions. The executioner himself saw the bird pass plainly from the girl's mouth; amazed and confounded he broke away and fled from what his own hands had done, and the lictor too fled in terror. Suddenly the icy winter

ecce nivem glacialis hiems
ingerit et tegit omne forum,
membra tegit simul Eulaliae
axe iacentia sub gelido
pallioli vice linteoli.
cedat amor lacrimantum hominum,
qui celebrare suprema solent,
flebile cedat et officium:
ipsa elementa iubente Deo
exequias tibi, virgo, ferunt.
nunc locus Emerita est tumulo,
clara colonia Vettoniae,
quam memorabilis amnis Ana
praeterit et viridante rapax
gurgite moenia pulchra lavit.
hic, ubi marmore perspicuo
atria luminat alma nitor
et peregrinus et indigena,
relliquias cineresque sacros
servat humus veneranda sinu.
tecta corusca super rutilant
de laquearibus aureolis
saxaque caesa solum variant,
floribus ut rosulenta putes
prata rubescere multimodis.
carpite purpureas violas
sanguineosque crocos metite.
non caret his genialis hiems,
laxat et arva tepens glacies,
floribus ut cumulet calathos.
ista comantibus e foliis
munera, virgo puerque, date.
ast ego serta choro in medio
texta feram pede dactylico,

pours down snow and covers all the square, covering Eulalia's body too where it lies under the cold sky, like a linen shroud. Let those who in human love and tears are wont to solemnize the last rites stand aside, let their sad office give place; the very elements at God's command are performing thy obsequies, O maiden.

Now her tomb stands in Emerita, that famous town in Vettonia by which the notable river Ana [a] passes, washing the handsome walls as it sweeps along with its green waters. Here, where the lustre of shining marble, foreign and native, lights up the motherly church, the worshipful earth keeps her remains, her holy ashes, in its bosom. Overhead the gleaming roof flashes light from its gilded panels, and shaped stones diversify the floor so that it seems like a rose-covered meadow blushing with varied blooms. Pluck ye purple violets, pick blood-red crocuses. Our genial winter has no lack of them; the cold is tempered and loosens its grip on the land to load our baskets with flowers. Give her these gifts, you girls and boys, from the luxuriant leaves. But I in the midst of your company will bring garlands wreathed of dactylic measures,[b] of little worth

[a] The Guadiana.

[b] The metre of the poem is the dactylic tetrameter catalectic.

vilia, marcida, festa tamen.
sic venerarier ossa libet
ossibus altar et inpositum:
illa Dei sita sub pedibus
prospicit haec populosque suos
carmine propitiata fovet.

IV

Hymnus in Honorem Sanctorum Decem et Octo Martyrum Caesaraugustanorum.

Bis novem noster populus sub uno
martyrum servat cineres sepulcro:
Caesaraugustam vocitamus urbem
res cui tanta est.
plena magnorum domus angelorum
non timet mundi fragilis ruinam,
tot sinu gestans simul offerenda
munera Christo.
cum Deus dextram quatiens coruscam
nube subnixus veniet rubente
gentibus iustam positurus aequo
pondere libram,
orbe de magno caput excitata
obviam Christo properanter ibit
civitas quaeque pretiosa portans
dona canistris.
Afra Carthago tua promet ossa,
ore facundo Cypriane doctor,
Corduba Acisclum dabit et Zoellum,
tresque coronas.

and faded, but still joyous. So will we venerate her bones and the altar placed over her bones, while she, set at the feet of God, views all our doings, our song wins her favour, and she cherishes her people.

IV

A Hymn in Honour of the Eighteen Holy Martyrs of Caesaraugusta.[a]

Eighteen martyrs' ashes our people keeps in a single grave, and Caesaraugusta is the name we call the city which has this great possession. A house that is filled with great saints fears not the downfall of this mortal world, since it bears in its bosom so many gifts to be offered together to Christ. When God, seated on a fiery cloud and shaking his flashing hand, shall come to set up his true balance for the nations and weigh them justly, then from out the great world every city will raise its head and go quickly to meet Christ, carrying its costly gifts in baskets. African Carthage will bring forth thy bones, Cyprian,[b] teacher of the eloquent lips. Corduba[c] will give Acisclus and Zoellus and her three crowns.

[a] Saragossa. The eighteen would appear to have suffered together, clearly (from lines 101–108) in some persecution earlier than that of Diocletian, of which St. Vincent was a victim.

[b] He was bishop of Carthage. *Cf.* XIII.

[c] Cordova. The "three crowns" (*i.e.* three other martyrs) were perhaps Faustus, Januarius and Martialis, who suffered there.

tu tribus gemmis diadema pulchrum
offeres Christo, genetrix piorum
Tarraco, intexit cui Fructuosus
sutile vinclum.
nomen hoc gemmae strophio inligatae est;
emicant iuxta lapides gemelli
ardet et splendor parilis duorum
igne corusco.
parva Felicis decus exhibebit
artubus sanctis locuples Gerunda;
nostra gestabit Calagurris ambos
quos veneramur.
Barchinon claro Cucufate freta
surget, et Paulo speciosa Narbo,
teque praepollens Arelas habebit,
sancte Genesi.
Lusitanorum caput oppidorum
urbs adoratae cineres puellae
obviam Christo rapiens ad aram
porriget ipsam.
sanguinem Iusti, cui Pastor haeret,
ferculum duplex geminumque donum
ferre Complutum gremio iuvabit
membra duorum.
ingeret Tingis sua Cassianum,
festa Massylum monumenta regum,
qui cinis gentes domitas coegit
ad iuga Christi.
singulis paucae, tribus aut duobus,

---

[a] Tarragona. The "three jewels" are Fructuosus, Augurius and Eulogius. *Cf.* VI.
[b] Gerona.
[c] Emeterius and Chelidonius. *Cf.* I.

Thou, Tarraco,[a] mother of godly children, wilt offer to Christ a beauteous diadem with three jewels, for Fructuosus works thee a band in which they are set. This name belongs to one jewel fastened on the band, and beside it shine twin stones, both blazing in equal lustre with a flash of fire. Little Gerunda[b] will present Felix, her glory, for his holy body makes her rich; and our own Calagurris bring the two whom we venerate.[c] Barchinon[d] will rise up in reliance on famed Cucufas, fair Narbo[e] on Paulus, and great Arelas[e] will have thee, holy Genesius. The city which is head of the towns of Lusitania[f] will take the ashes of the girl it reverences to meet Christ and present them at the very altar. It will be Complutum's[g] delight to bring in her arms the blood of Justus with Pastor close beside, bearing on two carriers a twofold gift, the bodies of the twain. His native Tingis,[h] memorial of Massylian kings, will joyously present Cassian,[i] the ashes of him who subdued her pagans and brought them under the yoke of Christ. A few cities will find favour because of only

[a] Barcelona.

[c] Towns in southern Gaul (Narbonne and Arles).

[f] Emerita. The girl is Eulalia. *Cf.* III.

[g] Alcala.

[h] Tangier. The Massyli were often confused with the Masaesyli who lived farther west, in the "provincia Tingitana" (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* V, 17). Tingis was an ancient town. According to local tradition it was founded by Antaeus (Mela I, 26, Pliny V, 2) with whom Hercules wrestled, and whose grave was there; or by Sophax (a son of Hercules) who was King of the country and whose son extended the kingdom (Plutarch, *Sertorius*, 9).

[i] Not the Cassian of IX. He was in attendance as clerk at the trial of the centurion Marcellus, and in protest against the death-sentence threw down his pen and tablets.

forsan et quinis aliquae placebunt
testibus Christi prius hostiarum
pignere functae:
tu decem sanctos revehes et octo,
Caesaraugusta studiosa Christo,
verticem flavis oleis revincta,
pacis honore.
sola in occursum numerosiores
martyrum turbas Domino parasti,
sola praedives pietate multa
luce frueris.
vix parens orbis populosa Poeni,
ipsa vix Roma in solio locata
te, decus nostrum, superare in isto
munere digna est.
omnibus portis sacer immolatus
sanguis exclusit genus invidorum
daemonum et nigras pepulit tenebras
urbe piata.
nullus umbrarum latet intus horror,
pulsa nam pestis populum refugit;
Christus in totis habitat plateis,
Christus ubique est.
martyrum credas patriam coronis
debitam sacris, chorus unde surgens
tendit in caelum niveus togatae
nobilitatis.
inde, Vincenti, tua palma nata est,
clerus hic tantum peperit triumphum,
hic sacerdotum domus infulata
Valeriorum.
saevus antiquis quotiens procellis
turbo vexatum tremefecit orbem,

[a] *Cf.* V.

one, some because of two or three, perhaps even of five witnesses to Christ, the sacrifices they gave in pledge before. But thou, Caesaraugusta, that art zealous for Christ, wilt bring again thy holy eighteen, thy head wreathed with golden olives, the ornament of peace. In number greater than any other city thou hast companies of martyrs ready to meet the Lord; thou wilt enjoy great light because thou dost surpass all in the riches of thy devotion. Scarce is the populous mother of the Punic world, scarce Rome herself, set on her throne, worthy to outstrip thee, our glory, in this offering. The sacrifice of holy blood has shut out the race of malign devils from all thy gates and driven black darkness from thy cleansed city. No shuddering fear of spirits lurks within, for the plague has been driven away in flight from thy people, and Christ dwells in all thy streets, Christ is everywhere. It is as if this home-land of martyrs had been destined for the sacred crowns, there rises from it towards heaven such a company of its high-born citizens clad in snow-white robes. It was here, Vincent,[a] thy victory began, here the clergy won their great triumph, and here the vested family of the priestly Valerii. Whenever in the tempests of the olden time the cruel hurricane troubled and

tristior templum rabies in istud
intulit iras,
nec furor quisquam sine laude nostrum
cessit aut clari vacuus cruoris;
martyrum semper numerus sub omni
grandine crevit.
nonne, Vincenti, peregri necandus
martyr his terris tenui notasti
sanguinis rore speciem futuri
morte propinqua?
hoc colunt cives, velut ipsa membra
caespes includat suus et paterno
servet amplectens tumulo beati
martyris ossa.
noster est, quamvis procul hinc in urbe
passus ignota dederit sepulcri
gloriam victor prope litus altae
forte Sagunti.
noster et nostra puer in palaestra
arte virtutis fideique olivo
unctus horrendum didicit domare
viribus hostem.
noverat templo celebres in isto
octies partas deciesque palmas;
laureis doctus patriis eadem
laude cucurrit.
hic et, Encrati, recubant tuarum
ossa virtutum, quibus efferati
spiritum mundi, violenta virgo,
dedecorasti.
martyrum nulli remanente vita
contigit terris habitare nostris;
sola tu morti propriae superstes
vivis in orbe.

shook the world, a fiercer fury hurled its wrath on this church, and its raging never passed without bringing honour to our people nor without shedding of famous blood; always the number of martyrs grew larger under every storm. Didst thou not, Vincent, though thou wert to suffer death elsewhere, with a light shower of martyr's blood mark on these lands the shape of what was to come, when thy death was at hand? [a] This thy fellow-citizens reverence just as if its native ground covered the very body, keeping the blessed martyr's bones in its embrace in his family tomb. Ours he is, though as it befell it was in a strange city far from here that he suffered and in victory gave it the honour of having his burial-place, near the shore of lofty Saguntus. Ours he is; it was in our training-school that as a boy he was instructed in the art of goodness and anointed with the oil of faith, and learned to subdue the dire enemy with his strength. He had learned that in this church eighteen famous victories were won, and taught by his native city's laurels he ran his race with the same honour. Here too, Encratis, lies the body that lodged thy virtues with which, a forceful maiden, thou didst put to shame the spirit of the savage world. To none of the martyrs was it given to live on and dwell in our land; thou art the only one to survive thy death and

[a] St. Vincent was a deacon at Caesaraugusta, but suffered at Valentia. Eugenius (Bishop of Toledo at the middle of the 7th century), in his verses on the basilica of St. Vincent at Caesaraugusta, refers to blood flowing from his nostrils there.

vivis, ac poenae seriem retexis,
carnis et caesae spolium retentans
taetra quam sulcos habeant amaros
vulnera narras.
barbarus tortor latus omne carpsit,
sanguis inpensus, lacerata membra,
pectus abscisa patuit papilla
corde sub ipso.
iam minus mortis pretium peractae est,
quae venenatos abolens dolores
concitam membris tribuit quietem
fine soporo.
cruda te longum tenuit cicatrix
et diu venis dolor haesit ardens,
dum putrescentes tenuat medullas
tabidus umor.
invidus quamvis obitum supremum
persecutoris gladius negarit,
plena te, martyr, tamen ut peremptam,
poena coronat.
vidimus partem iecoris revulsam
ungulis longe iacuisse pressis:
mors habet pallens aliquid tuorum
te quoque viva.
hunc novum nostrae titulum fruendum
Caesaraugustae dedit ipse Christus,
iuge viventis domus ut dicata
martyris esset.
ergo ter senis sacra candidatis,
dives Optato, simul et Luperco,
perge conscriptum tibimet senatum
pangere psalmis.
ede Successum, cane Martialem,
mors et Urbani tibi concinatur,

live in the world. Thou didst live and recount the story of thy sufferings one after another; thou didst not quit hold of thy flesh though they cut it and would have robbed thee of it, and thou didst tell how grievous were the gashes of thy hideous wounds. The barbarous tormentor tore all thy side, thy blood was shed, thy limbs mangled, thy breast cut off and thy bosom laid open down to the very heart. Death surely when it is carried through is a lesser price to pay, for it puts an end to the envenomed pains and quickly gives the body rest in the final sleep. But the bleeding wound long held thee back, the burning pain clung long to thy flesh, till corrupt discharge wasted thy vitals in decay. Though the sword of the persecutor grudged and denied thee death to end all, yet the full measure of suffering gives thee the crown as much as if thou hadst been slain, and we salute thee as martyr. We saw a part of thy inwards torn away by the grip of the claws and lie far off; wan death possessed something of thine even in thy lifetime. This honour without precedent Christ himself gave to our town of Caesaraugusta to enjoy, that it should be the consecrated home of a martyr whose life was not ended.

Therefore since thou art made sacred in virtue of the white-robed eighteen, being enriched with Optatus and Lupercus together, come, sing in sacred song the praises of thine enrolled senators. Tell of Successus, sing of Martialis. Let thy song celebrate the death of Urbanus too, and thy melody sound

Iuliam cantus resonet simulque
Quintilianum.
Publium pangat chorus et revolvat
quale Frontonis fuerit tropaeum,
quid bonus Felix tulerit, quid acer
Caecilianus,
quantus, Evoti, tua bella sanguis
tinxerit, quantus tua, Primitive,
tum tuos vivax recolat triumphos
laus, Apodemi.
quattuor posthinc superest virorum
nomen extolli renuente metro,
quos Saturninos memorat vocatos
prisca vetustas.
carminis leges amor aureorum
nominum parvi facit, et loquendi
cura de sanctis vitiosa non est
nec rudis umquam.
plenus est artis modus adnotatas
nominum formas recitare Christo,
quas tenet caeli liber explicandus
tempore iusto.
octo tunc sanctos recolet decemque
angelus coram Patre Filioque
urbis unius regimen tenentes
iure sepulcri.
quin ad antiquum numerum trahetur
viva post poenae specimen puella,
morsque [1] Vincenti, cui sanguis hinc est
fons et honoris,
additis [2] Gaio (nec enim silendi)
teque, Crementi, quibus incruentum

[1] tuque *A*.

forth the names of Julia and Quintilian together. Let the choir sing of Publius and tell again the story of Fronto's victory, of the sufferings good Felix bore, and brave Caecilianus, of the much blood that dyed thy warfare, Evotius, and thine, Primitivus; and let eager praise rehearse thy triumphs, Apodemius. It still remains to exalt the name of four though my metre refuses. Old times of long ago tell that they were each called Saturninus. Love of their golden names makes light of the rules of verse,[a] and concern to speak of the saints is never incorrect nor barbarous. The measure of art is full if we recite to Christ the forms of the names as they are written down and contained in the book of heaven which shall be opened at the due time. Then shall the angel in presence of the Father and the Son rehearse the names of the eighteen saints who hold the governance of a single city in right of their burial here. And over and above the ancient number will be brought in the girl who lived on after exemplary suffering, and the death of Vincent, whose blood and glory draw from here; with Gaius and thee, Crementius, for you twain are not to be passed over;

[a] The names from Optatus to the four Saturnini are eighteen. In line 163 the poet deliberately violates the Sapphic metre by beginning with a spondee in order to admit the name. Eugenius of Toledo in a poem on the basilica of the eighteen martyrs contrives to get all the names in by writing successive lines in different metres. He does not mention the name Saturninus, but four in his list which are not in that of Prudentius are Cassianus, Januarius, Matutinus and Faustus. These may have borne the name Saturninus also. He also gives Julius, not Julia (see line 151).

[2] *Lines* 181–188 *are wanting in A, the oldest MS., and are bracketed by Bergman.*

ferre provenit decus ex secundo
laudis agone.[a]
ambo confessi Dominum steterunt
acriter contra fremitum latronum,
ambo gustarunt leviter saporem
martyriorum.
haec sub altari sita sempiterno
lapsibus nostris veniam precatur
turba, quam servat procerum creatrix
purpureorum.
nos pio fletu, date, perluamus
marmorum sulcos, quibus est operta
spes ut absolvam retinaculorum
vincla meorum.
sterne te totam generosa sanctis
civitas mecum tumulis; deinde
mox resurgentes animas et artus
tota sequeris.

V

Passio Sancti Vincenti Martyris.

Beate martyr, prospera
diem triumphalem tuum,
quo sanguinis merces tibi
corona, Vincenti, datur.
hic te ex tenebris saeculi
tortore victo et iudice
evexit ad caelum dies
Christoque ovantem reddidit.

[a] Or "a secondary contest". Arevalo suggested that *secundo* here means "of the second rank," on the ground that though

it was your fortune to win bloodless honour out of a victorious [a] contest for glory. Both confessed the Lord and boldly faced the devils' roaring, and both tasted lightly the savour of martyrdom. All this company, laid under the everlasting altar [b] and kept by a mother of purple-robed leaders, prays for pardon for our backslidings. Come, let us with pious tears wash the letters cut on the marble slabs under which lies my hope of unloosing the bonds which hold me fast. Cast thyself down along with me, noble city, on the holy graves, thou and all thy people; then when their souls and bodies rise again thou and all thy people will follow them.

V

The Passion of St. Vincent the Martyr.[c]

Blessed martyr, prosper the day of thy victory, the day which marks the giving of the crown to thee, Vincent, in recompense for thy blood. This day, when thou hadst overcome torturer and judge, raised thee out of this world's darkness up to heaven and delivered thee in triumph to Christ. Now in company with the

they evidently suffered pains or imprisonment they were not put to death, and were therefore properly "confessors," not martyrs.

[b] *Cf.* Revelation vi, 9.

[c] *Cf.* IV, 77–108.

nunc angelorum particeps
conlucis insigni stola,
quam testis indomabilis
rivis cruoris laveras,
cum te satelles idoli
praecinctus atris legibus
litare divis gentium
ferro et catenis cogeret.
ac verba primum mollia
suadendo blande effuderat,
captator ut vitulum lupus
rapturus adludit prius.
" rex," inquit, " orbis maximus,
qui sceptra gestat Romula,[1]
servire sanxit omnia
priscis deorum cultibus.
vos, Nazareni, adsistite,
rudemque ritum spernite.
haec saxa, quae princeps colit,
placate fumo et victima."
exclamat hic Vincentius,
Levita de tribu sacra,
minister altaris Dei,
septem ex columnis lacteis;
" tibi ista praesint numina,
tu saxa, tu lignum colas,
tu mortuorum mortuus
fias deorum pontifex.
nos lucis auctorem Patrem
eiusque Christum Filium,
qui solus ac verus Deus,
Datiane, confitebimur."
hic ille iam commotior,
" audesne, non felix," ait,

angels thou shinest bright in the glorious robe which as an invincible witness thou didst wash in streams of blood, when the minister of idolatry, armed with malignant laws, sought to compel thee with steel and chains to offer sacrifice to the pagans' gods. First he had uttered smooth, soft words of exhortation, like a wolf on the hunt which first is pleasant with the calf it means to ravish. "The mighty sovereign of the world," says he, "who bears the sceptre of Rome, has ordained that all the world shall be subject to the ancient forms of religion. Ye Nazarenes, attend, and put away your crude observance. These stones which the emperor worships you must propitiate with the smoke of sacrifice." Hereupon Vincent, a Levite[a] of the sacred tribe and servant of the altar of God, one of the seven milk-white pillars, cries aloud: "Let these powers be *your* masters; *you* may worship stones and wood and become the dead priest of dead gods. As for us, we shall confess the Father who is the author of light, and Christ his Son; He is the true and only God, O Datianus."[b] On this the other grows warmer. "Dare you, un-

[a] *Cf.* II, 37–40.

[b] Governor of Spain under Maximian, the colleague of Diocletian.

---

[1] publica *AP* (*Bergman*). *B is wanting.*

" ius hoc deorum et principum
violare verbis asperis,
ius et sacratum et publicum,
cui cedit humanum genus,
nec te iuventae fervidae
instans periclum permovet?
hoc namque decretum cape:
aut ara ture et caespite
precanda iam nunc est tibi,
aut mors luenda est sanguine."
respondit ille altrinsecus:
" age ergo, quidquid virium,
quidquid potestatis tibi est,
palam reluctor, exere!
vox nostra quae sit, accipe:
est Christus et Pater Deus:
servi huius et testes sumus;
extorque, si potes, fidem!
tormenta, carcer, ungulae
stridensque flammis lammina,
atque ipsa poenarum ultima
mors Christianis ludus est.
o vestra inanis vanitas
scitumque brutum Caesaris!
condigna vestris sensibus
coli iubetis numina
excisa fabrili manu,
cavis recocta et follibus,
quae voce, quae gressu carent,
inmota, caeca, elinguia.
his sumptuosa splendido
delubra crescunt marmore,
his colla mugientium
percussa taurorum cadunt.

happy man," he says, " with rude speech outrage this authority of gods and emperors, authority at once religious and political, to which mankind gives way, and does not the peril that threatens you in the heat of your youth alarm you? For truly this is the order you must accept: either must you here and now make supplication at the altar with incense and turf,[a] or pay the penalty of a bloody death." Vincent for his part answered: " Come then, put forth all your strength and all your authority; I openly resist it. Hear what it is we say: Christ and the Father are God; his servants and witnesses we are. Rob us of our faith if you can. Torture, imprisonment, the claws, the hissing red-hot plate, even the final suffering of death, are all mere sport to Christians. How vain and futile are you rulers! How senseless Caesar's decree! You bid us worship deities that match your own minds, deities hewn out by a workman's hand, or cast with the help of the hollow bellows, devoid of speech and motion, standing still, blind and dumb. It is to these that costly shrines of gleaming marble rise, for these that lowing bulls are struck on the throat and fall. You will tell me there

[a] Freshly cut turf is often mentioned as being used for an impromptu or temporary altar (*e.g.* Horace, *Odes*, I, 19, 13).

at sunt [1] et illic spiritus.
sunt, sed magistri criminum
vestrae et salutis aucupes,
vagi, inpotentes, sordidi,
qui vos latenter incitos
in omne conpellunt nefas,
vastare iustos caedibus,
plebem piorum carpere.
norunt et ipsi ac sentiunt
pollere Christum et vivere,
eiusque iam iamque adfore
regnum tremendum perfidis.
clamant fatentes denique
pulsi ex latebris viscerum [2]
virtute Christi et nomine,
divique et idem daemones."
his intonantem martyrem
iudex profanus non tulit.
conclamat: " os obtrudite,
ne plura iactet inprobus.
vocem loquentis claudite
raptimque lictores date,
illos reorum Plutones
pastos resectis carnibus.[3]
iam faxo ius praetorium
conviciator sentiat,
inpune ne nostris sibi
dis destruendis luserit.
tibi ergo soli, contumax,
Tarpeia calcentur sacra?
tu porro solus obteras
Romam, senatum, Caesarem?
vinctum retortis bracchiis
sursum ac deorsum extendite,

are spirits there too. Yes, but spirits that are teachers of sin, that lay traps for your lives, roaming, violent, filthy spirits that privily push and drive you into every kind of wickedness, to ravage the righteous with slaughter and destroy the people of the godly. Even they know and are conscious that Christ has power and lives and that his kingdom, which the faithless must dread, will presently come; and they cry out in confession when they are driven from their hiding in the flesh by the power and name of Christ. Your gods are devils too." [a]

Out of all patience with these thunders of the martyr, the heathen judge cries: "Stop his mouth, let the scoundrel say no more. Imprison his speech. Quick! Put the executioners on him, those gods of death for criminals, who feed on the flesh they cut off. Now I shall make this railer feel the authority of a governor; he shall not get off with pulling down our gods for his amusement. Have you then the insolence to claim that you alone must be allowed to tread the Tarpeian [b] rites under foot, and you alone to trample on Rome, the senate, Caesar? Tie him with his arms behind and rack him upwards and

[a] *Cf.* I Corinthians x, 20–21.

[b] As the Tarpeian Rock was on the Capitoline hill at Rome, the phrase means the worship of the deities whose temples were on the Capitol, especially Jupiter, whom Propertius (IV, 1, 7) calls "Tarpeius pater."

---

[1] *Most of the later MSS. have* adsunt *or* assunt.

[2] *So ACP* (*B and U are not available*). *The other MSS. have* corporum.

[3] *So ACP* (*B and U are not available*). *The other MSS. have* illos reorum carnibus pastos manuque exercitos.

conpago donec ossuum
divulsa membratim crepet.
  posthinc hiulcis ictibus
nudate costarum abdita,
ut per latebras [1] vulnerum
iecur retectum palpitet."
  ridebat haec miles Dei
manus cruentas increpans
quod fixa non profundius
intraret artus ungula.
  ac iam omne robur fortium
eviscerando cesserat,
nisusque anhelus solverat
fessos lacertorum toros.
  ast ille tanto laetior
omni vacantem nubilo
frontem serenam luminat
te, Christe, praesentem videns.
  " quis vultus iste, pro pudor! "
Datianus aiebat furens,
" gaudet, renidet, provocat
tortore tortus acrior!
  nil illa vis exercita
tot noxiorum mortibus
agone in isto proficit,
ars et dolorum vincitur.
  sed vos, alumni carceris,
par semper invictum mihi,
cohibete paulum dexteras,
respiret ut lassus vigor.
  praesicca rursus ulcera,
dum se cicatrix colligit
refrigerati sanguinis,
manus resulcans diruet."

downwards till the joints of his bones in every limb are rent asunder with a crack. Then with cleaving strokes lay bare his ribs of their covering, so that his organs shall be exposed as they throb in the recesses of the wounds." But the soldier of God laughed at these commands, rebuking the blood-stained hands because the claw thrust into him did not enter more deeply into his body. And now the strong men had used up all their powers in tearing him to pieces, their panting exertion had tired and relaxed the muscles of their arms; but Vincent was only the more cheerful, his countenance all unclouded and bright, being lit up with the sight of thy presence, O Christ. "What look is this? Oh shame!" cried Datianus in a passion. "He is joyful and smiling! It is a challenge! The tortured is bolder than the torturer! The energy so practised in the death of malefactors makes no headway in this contest, its skill to hurt is being beaten. But, you foster-sons of the prison, a pair I have ever found invincible, hold your hands awhile that your wearied vigour may revive. When the wounds are quite dry and the congealed blood is gathering in a scar, your hand will plough them up again and tear them open."

---

[1] *So ACP* (*B and U are not available*). *The other MSS. have* lacunas.

his contra Levites refert:
" si iam tuorum perspicis
languere virtutem canum,
age ipse, maior carnifex,
ostende quo pacto queant
imos recessus scindere,
manus et ipse intersere
rivosque ferventes bibe.
erras, cruente, si meam
te rere poenam sumere
cum membra morti obnoxia
dilancinata interficis.
est alter, est intrinsecus,
violare quem nullus potest,
liber, quietus, integer,
exsors dolorum tristium.
hoc, quod laboras perdere
tantis furoris viribus,
vas est solutum ac fictile,
quocumque frangendum modo.
quin immo nunc enitere
illum secare ac plectere
qui perstat intus, qui tuam
calcat, tyranne, insaniam.
hunc, hunc lacesse, hunc discute,
invictum, inexsuperabilem,
nullis procellis subditum,
solique subiectum Deo."
haec fatur et stridentibus
laniatur uncis denuo.
cui praetor ore subdolo
anguina verba exsibilat:
" si tanta callum pectoris
praedurat obstinatio

To this the deacon retorts: "If now you see the powers of your dogs grow feeble, come (for you are yourself the superior executioner), show them how they can cleave me to my lowest depths; put in your own hands and drink the hot streams. You mistake, bloody man, if you think you are exacting punishment from *me* when you mangle and kill a body which is naturally subject to death. There is another, within the body, whom no man is able to outrage, who is unconfined, undisturbed, unharmed, exempt from all your grievous pains. This that you struggle to destroy with such vehement passion is but a frail vessel of clay, doomed to be broken in one way or another. But try now rather to cut and beat the being who stands fast within, who tramples on your madness, persecutor! This, this is he you must attack and destroy, a being who is invincible, unconquerable, subject to no storms, and under God alone." At these words he is once more torn with the creaking hooks, and the governor with crafty lips hisses out at him a serpent's words: "If your stubborn spirit makes your breast so thick-skinned and

pulvinar ut nostrum manu
abomineris tangere,
  saltem latentes paginas
librosque opertos detege,
quo secta pravum seminans
iustis cremetur ignibus."
  his martyr auditis ait:
" quem tu, maligne, mysticis
minitaris ignem litteris,
flagrabis ipse hoc iustius.
  romphaea nam caelestium
vindex erit voluminum
tanti veneni interpretem
linguam perurens fulmine.
  vides favillas indices
Gomorreorum criminum,
Sodomita nec latet cinis,
testis perennis funeris.
  exemplar hoc, serpens, tuum est,
fuligo quem mox sulphuris
bitumen et mixtum pice
imo inplicabunt Tartaro."
  his persecutor saucius
pallet, rubescit, aestuat
insana torquens lumina,
spumasque frendens egerit.
  tum deinde cunctatus diu
decernit: " extrema omnium
igni, grabato et lamminis
exerceatur quaestio."
  haec ille sese ad munera
gradu citato proripit
ipsosque pernix gaudio
poenae ministros praevenit.

hard that you abhor to touch our sacred couch [a] with your hand, at least disclose your secret writings, your hidden books, that the teaching which sows the vicious seed may be burned with the fire it merits." [b] But on hearing this the martyr replies: "In your spite you threaten our mystic writings with fire, but you yourself will burn with fire more merited, for the sword of God will avenge our heaven-inspired books, consuming with its lightning-flash the tongue that gives expression to such venom. You see the glowing embers that tell of Gomorrah's sins, and the ashes of Sodom are a plain witness of everlasting death. This is the pattern of you, serpent; one day sulphurous soot and mingled bitumen and pitch will enwrap you deep in hell." Stricken with these words the persecutor turns first pale, then red, and in the heat of his passion rolls his eyes frantically this way and that, gnashing his teeth and foaming at the mouth. Then after hesitating long he gives command: "Let the last degree of torture be applied, with fire and bed [c] and plates."

To these tasks Vincent hurries with quick step. Joy gives him speed and he outstrips the very ministers of torture. Now they have reached the

[a] Properly a cushioned couch on which the image of a god was placed at the celebration of a *lectisternium*. *Cf.* X, 1056.

[b] Diocletian's first edict, issued early in 303, included an order for the burning of copies of the scriptures. Two other edicts followed shortly after it, one for the imprisonment of the clergy, the other ordering that they should sacrifice to the gods of the state.

[c] The gridiron.

ventum ad palaestram gloriae;
spes certat et crudelitas,
luctamen anceps conserunt
hinc martyr, illinc carnifex.
serrata lectum regula
dente infrequenti exasperat,
cui multa carbonum strues
vivum vaporat halitum.
hunc sponte conscendit rogum
vir sanctus ore interrito,
ceu iam coronae conscius
celsum tribunal scanderet.
subter crepante aspergine
scintillat excussus salis
punctisque fervens stridulis
sparsim per artus figitur.
arvina posthinc igneum
inpressa cauterem lavit,
vis unde roris fumidi
in membra sensim liquitur.
haec inter inmotus manet
tamquam dolorum nescius,
tenditque in altum lumina,
nam vincla palmas presserant.
sublatus inde fortior
lugubre in antrum truditur,
ne liber usus luminis
animaret altum spiritum.
est intus imo ergastulo
locus tenebris nigrior,
quem saxa mersi fornicis
angusta clausum strangulant.
aeterna nox illic latet
expers diurni sideris;

wrestling-ground where the prize is glory, where hope contends with cruelty, and martyr and torturer face each other and join in the critical struggle. A spiked grid, its teeth wide-spaced, makes a cruel bed, and on to it a great mass of coals exhales its burning breath. Of his own accord the holy man mounts this pyre with no fear in his look, just as if he felt the crown already on his head and were going up on to the judgment-seat on high. Salt sprinkled on the fire crackles under him and darts out in hot sparks which fasten themselves in hissing punctures here or there over his body. Next a piece of fat is laid on a glowing iron and runs melting over it so that the potent liquid, smoking hot, falls drop by drop on his frame. Amid all this he remains unmoved as if feeling no pain, and lifts his eyes to heaven (for his hands were kept down by the bonds). Then with courage heightened he is taken up from the grid and thrust into a doleful dungeon so that the free enjoyment of light may not quicken his noble spirit. Deep down within the prison is a place of blacker darkness; the narrow stonework of a subterranean vault keeps it close-throttled, and there hidden away lies everlasting night, never seeing the star

hic carcer horrendus suos
habere fertur inferos.
  in hoc barathrum conicit
truculentus hostis martyrem,
lignoque plantas inserit
divaricatis cruribus.
  quin addit et poenam novam
crucis peritus artifex,
nulli tyranno cognitam
nec fando conpertam retro.
  fragmenta testarum iubet
hirta, inpolitis angulis,
acuminata, informia,
tergo iacentis sternerent.
  totum cubile spiculis
armant dolores anxii,
insomne qui subter latus
mucrone pulsent obvio.
  haec ille versutus vafra
meditatus arte struxerat,
sed Belzebulis callida
commenta Christus destruit.
  nam carceralis caecitas
splendore lucis fulgurat,
duplexque morsus stipitis
ruptis cavernis dissilit.
  agnoscit hic Vincentius
adesse, quod speraverat,
tanti laboris praemium,
Christum datorem luminis.
  cernit deinde fragmina
iam testularum mollibus
vestire semet floribus,
redolente nectar carcere.

of day; men say this gruesome prison has a Hades of its own. Into this pit his fierce foe hurls the martyr and sets his feet in the stocks with his legs stretched wide apart. And being a skilled master of the art of torture he adds a new kind of suffering, not known to any oppressor before nor ever heard of in time past: he gives order to strew broken pots, rough, shapeless bits with jagged corners and sharp points, for his back to lie on. Galling pains arm the whole bed with pricks to keep striking on the body from below with sharp points ever in the way, and give it no repose. These devices the clever Datianus had contrived with thought and cunning skill, but Christ brings Beelzebub's artful inventions to naught. For the blind darkness of the prison flashes with a brilliant light and the two clamps of the stocks fly apart, breaking the holes open. Hereupon Vincent apprehends that the hoped-for prize of all his toil, Christ the giver of light, is here with him. Then he sees the bits of broken pottery clothe themselves with tender flowers, while the prison exhales the

quin et frequentes angeli
stant ac loquuntur comminus,
quorum unus ore augustior
conpellat his dictis virum:
"exsurge, martyr inclyte,
exsurge securus tui,
exsurge et almis coetibus
noster sodalis addere.
decursa iam satis tibi
poenae minacis munia,
pulchroque mortis exitu
omnis peracta est passio.
o miles invictissime,
fortissimorum fortior,
iam te ipsa saeva et aspera
tormenta victorem tremunt.
spectator haec Christus Deus
conpensat aevo intermino,
propriaeque collegam crucis
larga coronat dextera.
pone hoc caducum vasculum
conpage textum terrea,
quod dissipatum solvitur,
et liber in caelum veni."
haec ille; sed clausas fores
interna rumpunt lumina
tenuisque per rimas nitor
lucis latentis proditur.
hoc cum stuperet territus
obsessor atri liminis,
quem cura pernox manserat
servare feralem domum,
psallentis audit insuper
praedulce carmen martyris,

scent of nectar. And a great number of angels stand and speak with him face to face, of whom one with more majestic mien addresses him in these words: "Arise, martyr renowned; arise, and have no concern for thyself; arise and join our beneficent companies as our fellow. To the full now hast thou done thy part in enduring the menace of suffering, and with a noble death to end it thy passion is all finished. Most invincible of soldiers, bravest of the brave, now the savage, cruel torments themselves tremble before thee their conqueror. God the Christ, who watched thee, makes up for them with endless life, and with generous hand crowns thee as the partner of his cross. Lay aside this mortal vessel, a fabric of earthen structure which dissolves and falls to pieces, and come in freedom to the skies." So speaks the angel, and thereupon the splendour within breaks through the closed doors, the piercing brightness of the hidden light reveals itself through the chinks. Amazed and frightened at this the keeper of the dismal doorway, on whom was laid the night-long task of watching that house of death, hears also the passing-sweet song the martyr is

cui vocis instar aemulae
conclave reddit concavum.
  pavens deinde introspicit,
admota quantum postibus
acies per artas cardinum
intrare iuncturas potest.
  vernare multis floribus
stramenta testarum videt
ipsumque vulsis nexibus
obambulantem pangere.
  inplentur aures turbidi
praetoris hoc miraculo;
flet victus et volvit gemens
iram, dolorem, dedecus.
  " exemptus," inquit, " carceri
paulum benignis fotibus
recreetur, ut pastum novum
poenis refectus praebeat."
  coire toto ex oppido
turbam fidelem cerneres,
mollire praefultum torum,
siccare cruda vulnera.
  ille ungularum duplices
sulcos pererrat osculis,
hic purpurantem corporis
gaudet cruorem lambere.
  plerique vestem linteam
stillante tingunt sanguine,
tutamen ut sacrum suis
domi reservent posteris.
  tunc ipse manceps carceris
et vinculorum ianitor,
ut fert vetustas conscia,
repente Christum credidit.

singing, while the hollow chamber returns an echo like another voice singing in emulation. Then tremblingly he looks within, as well as his eyes, planted by the door-post, can penetrate through the narrow slits where door and pivot join. He sees the bed of potsherds blooming with many a flower, and the martyr himself, his bonds torn away, walking about as he sings. The news of this marvel rings in the governor's ear and infuriates him. He weeps at his defeat and with groans of vexation turns over angry, resentful thoughts of his ignominy. "Take him out of prison," he says, "and let him be restored a little with beneficent applications, so that being revived he may furnish food for suffering anew."

From the whole town a throng of the faithful might be seen gathering, making a soft bed furnished with supports, and wiping dry the bleeding wounds. One covers with kisses the double cuts made by the claws, another eagerly licks the red gore on the body. Many wet a linen garment with the drops of blood, to lay it up at home as a holy safeguard for their descendants. Then even the jailer, the door-keeper of the prison, as tells the old tradition of the time which witnessed it, suddenly believed in Christ;

hic obseratis vectibus
densae specum caliginis
splendore lucis advenae
micuisse clausum viderat.
at vero postquam lectuli
martyr quietem contigit,
aeger morarum taedio
et mortis incensus siti—
si mors habenda eiusmodi est,
quae corporali ergastulo
mentem resolvit liberam
et reddit auctori Deo,
mentem piatam sanguine,
mortis lavacris elutam,
quae semet ac vitam suam
Christo inmolandam praebuit—
ergo ut recline mollibus
reiecit aulaeis caput,
victor relictis artubus
caelum capessit spiritus.
cui recta celso tramite
reseratur ad Patrem via,
quam fratre caesus inpio
Abel beatus scanderat.
stipant euntem candidi
hinc inde sanctorum chori
parique missum carcere
baptista Iohannes vocat.
at Christiani nominis
hostem coquebant inrita
fellis venena et lividum
cor efferata exusserant.
saevire inermem crederes
fractis draconem dentibus.

for while the bolts were shot he had seen the pitch-dark dungeon flash with the brightness of the light which, closed though it was, had entered into it.

But when the martyr found rest on his couch, being weary at heart of the tedious delays and burning with desire to die,—if we should think it death, which sets the soul free from the prison of the body and restores it to God its creator, the soul that has been purified with blood and cleansed with the washing of death and has given itself and its life as a sacrifice to Christ, —as soon, then, as he has laid his head back on the soft coverings of the bed, his victorious spirit leaves the body behind and seeks the skies, and along the heavenly path there is opened for it the straight way to the Father, which the blessed Abel, when he was slain by his unnatural brother, ascended before. White-robed companies of the saints press round him on his way, and John the Baptist calls one who has been released from prison like himself.

But as for the enemy of the Christian name, the poisons of his gall, having failed of their purpose, were tormenting him, and their fury had burned up his malignant heart. It was like the raging of a serpent disarmed by the breaking of its fangs. " He

" evasit exultans," ait,
" rebellis et palmam tulit.
sed restat illud ultimum,
inferre poenam mortuo,
feris cadaver tradere
canibusve carpendum dare.
iam nunc et ossa extinxero,
ne sit sepulcrum funeris,
quod plebs gregalis excolat
titulumque figat martyris."
sic frendit, et corpus sacrum
profanus (a dirum nefas!)
nudum negato tegmine
exponit inter carices.
sed nulla dirarum famis
aut bestiarum aut alitum
audet tropaeum gloriae
foedare tactu squalido.
quin si qua clangens inprobe
circumvolarat eminus,
trucis volucris inpetu
depulsa vertebat fugam.
nam corvus, Heliae datus
olim ciborum portitor,
hoc munus inplet sedule
et inremotus excubat.
hic ex frutectis proximis
infestus alarum sono
oculosque pinnis verberans
exegit inmanem lupum.
quis perfidorum credere
ausit rapacem beluam,
tauris paratam congredi,
cessisse plumis mollibus?

has escaped in triumph," he cries; "refusing to submit, he has carried off the victory. But still the last resource remains, to punish him even in death, to deliver his body to the wild beasts or give it to the dogs to tear. Forthwith I shall utterly destroy even his bones, so that his corpse shall have no grave for the common herd to venerate and set on it a martyr's epitaph." Thus raging he impiously exposed the sacred body amid the sedge,—O frightful wickedness!—all covering for its nakedness denied. But neither fell beast nor bird dared in its hunger to pollute the memorial of glorious victory with its unclean touch. And whenever one with ruthless malice flew noisily round at a distance, it was driven off by the attack of a fierce bird and fled away. For a raven, the bird once assigned to Elijah to carry his food, fulfilled this duty assiduously, keeping watch and never leaving its post. From some bushes near by it drove away a savage wolf, attacking it with noisy wings and beating its eyes with its pinions. Who of the infidels would make bold to believe that a ravenous beast which would readily engage with bulls gave ground before soft feathers? It went off

ibat malignum murmurans
levi volatu exterritus
praedamque visam fugerat
custodis inbellis minis.
quis audienti talia,
Datiane, tunc sensus tibi?
quantis gementem spiculis
figebat occultus dolor,
cum te perempti corporis
virtute victum cerneres,
ipsis et inpar ossibus
vacuisque iam membris minor?
sed quis, tyranne pertinax,
hunc inpotentem spiritum
determinabit exitus?
nullusne te franget modus?
" nullus, nec umquam desinam.
nam si ferina inmanitas
mansuescit et clementia
corvos voraces mitigat,
mergam cadaver fluctibus:
insana numquam naufragis
ignoscit unda, et spumeum
nescit profundum parcere.
aut semper illic mobilis
incerta per ludibria
vagis feretur flatibus
squamosa pascens agmina,
aut sub fragosis rupibus
scabri petrarum murices
inter recessus scrupeos
discissa rumpent viscera.
ecquis virorum strenue
cumbam peritus pellere

growling spitefully, frightened away by the bird's nimble flight, running from the prey before its eyes under the menaces of an unwarlike guardian. What were your feelings then, Datianus, when you heard such news? How sore were the piercing pricks of hidden pain under which you groaned, when you saw yourself beaten by the virtue that was in the body you did to death, and were no match even for the bones, and inferior to a frame now lifeless? But, obstinate oppressor, what issue will put an end to this ungoverned wrath? Will no limit break you? "None. I shall never give up. For if savage beasts grow tame and devouring ravens soft and gentle, I shall plunge the corpse into the sea. The raging wave never has mercy on the shipwrecked, the foaming deep knows no forbearance. Either the wandering winds will make it their random plaything there and drive it about forever on the move and feeding the scaly shoals, or at the foot of some rugged cliffs the sharp, scurfy points of rock will rend and tear his flesh on the stony beach of some inlet. Some man of you who knows how to drive a boat briskly on with oar and rope and canvas and can plough the

remo, rudente et carbaso,
secare qui pontum queas,
rapias palustri e caespite
corpus, quod intactum iacet,
levique vectum lembulo
amplum per aequor auferas?
sed conplicatum sparteus
claudat cadaver culleus,
quem fune conexus lapis
praeceps in altum deprimat.
at tu per undas emices
rorante praepes palmula,
donec relictum longior
abscondat aspectus solum."
haec iussa quidam militum,
(Eumorphio nomen fuit)
violentus, audax, barbarus,
furore fervens adripit.
funale textum conserit,
suto quod inplet corpore,
emensus et multum freti
inter procellas excutit.
o praepotens virtus Dei,
virtus creatrix omnium,
quae turgidum quondam mare
gradiente Christo straverat,
ut terga calcans aequoris
siccis mearet passibus,
plantas nec undis tingueret
vasti viator gurgitis!
haec ipsa virtus iusserat
rubrum salum dehiscere,
patente dum fundo aridum
secura plebs iter terit.

sea, take the body from the swampy grass where it lies untouched, and in a swift wherry carry it away over the wide waters! But let the corpse be doubled up and enclosed in a rope-bag with a stone tied to it to sink it straight into the depths. Do you shoot out swiftly over the waves with dripping oar-blade, till the more distant view hide the land you have left behind."

These behests one of the soldiers lays hold of with a burning passion, his name Eumorphio, a wild, audacious, savage man. He constructs a fabric of rope and sews the body up in it, and after covering a long course out to sea pitches it out amid the storms. How exceeding mighty is the power of God, the power that created all things and that once laid the swelling sea while Christ walked on it, so that treading on the surface of the waters He went dry-foot and did not wet his soles in the waves as He passed over the monstrous deep! It was this same power that at an earlier time commanded the Red Sea to part while the people fearlessly trod a dry path over

nec non et ipsa nunc iubet
servire sancto corpori
pontum quietis lapsibus
ad curva pronum litora.
saxum molaris ponderis
ut spuma candens innatat,
tantique custos pigneris
fiscella fertur fluctibus.
cernunt stupentes navitae
vectam remenso marmore
labi retrorsum leniter
aestu secundo et flamine.
certant et ipsi concito
pontum phaselo scindere,
longe sed artus praevolant
telluris ad mollem sinum;
prius relatos denique
humus quieta suscipit,
quam pulsa summis nisibus
carina portum tangeret.
felix amoeni litoris
secessus ille, qui sacra
fovens harenis viscera
vicem sepulcri praebuit,
dum cura sanctorum pia
deflens adornat aggerem
tumuloque corpus creditum
vitae reservat posterae!
sed mox subactis hostibus
iam pace iustis reddita
altar quietem debitam
praestat beatis ossibus;
subiecta nam sacrario
imamque ad aram condita

its exposed bed. And now too it bids the sea do service to the holy body by gliding down with gentle flow towards the curving shore. The stone as heavy as a mill-stone floats as lightly as the white spray, and the net-bag which keeps the precious pledge rides on the waves. The boatmen in amazement see it carried back over the sea, floating gently backwards with favouring tide and wind. They exert themselves to speed the boat and cleave the water, but the body flies far ahead of them towards the gentle bosom of the land; and so the peaceful earth receives it back into its care before the vessel, though driven with all their efforts, can reach its port. Happy that pleasant-shored bay which cherished the sacred flesh in its sands and served the turn of a burial place, till the pious care of the saints with many tears provided a mounded grave and committed the body thereto to keep it for the life to come! But later, when their enemies were subdued and peace given back to the righteous, an altar ensured to the blessed bones the rest that was their due; for laid under the sanctuary, buried at the foot of the altar, they drink in the aura of the heavenly

caelestis auram muneris
perfusa subter hauriunt.
  sic corpus, ast ipsum Dei
sedes receptum continet
cum Maccabeis fratribus
sectoque Esaiae proximum.
  simplex sed illis contigit
corona poenarum, quibus
finem malorum praestitit
mortis supremus exitus.
  quid tale sector ausus est?
truncata numquid corporis
segmenta post serram feris
obiecit aut undis dedit?
  num Maccabei martyris
linguam tyrannus erutam
raptamve pellem verticis
avibus cruentis obtulit?
  tu solus, o bis inclyte,
solus bravii duplicis
palmam tulisti, tu duas
simul parasti laureas.
  in morte victor aspera,
tum deinde post mortem pari
victor triumpho proteris
solo latronem corpore.
  adesto nunc et percipe
voces precantum supplices,
nostri reatus efficax
orator ad thronum Patris.
  per te, per illum carcerem,
honoris augmentum tui,
per vincla, flammas, ungulas,
per carceralem stipitem,

offering, which is shed on them there below. Thus the body; but the martyr himself was received into the dwelling-place of God, which holds him in company with the Maccabean brothers [a] and beside Esaias who was cut asunder.[b]

Yet these won but a single crown for their sufferings, since death brought their sorrows to a close and ended all. Did he who cut Esaias asunder dare any deed like this? Did he throw the sections of the body to the wild beasts after they were cut off with the saw, or give them to the waves? Did the oppressor offer the Maccabean martyr's tongue to bloodthirsty birds after it was plucked out, or the skin of the head when it was torn off? Thou alone, O twice renowned, thou alone hast won the glory of a double prize, thou hast gained two laurels together. Victorious in a cruel death, thou dost then after death in like triumph trample victoriously on the devil merely with thy body. Be with us now and give ear to the voice of our entreaty as we pray, and plead effectually for our sins before the Father's throne. By thyself, by that prison which brought enlargement of thy honour, by the bonds and flames and claws, by the stocks in the prison, by the broken

[a] *Cf.* II Maccabees vii.

[b] Jerome (*Commentary on Isaiah*, lvii, 1–2) says there was a definite Jewish tradition that Isaiah was sawn asunder with a wooden saw in the persecution of Manasseh (II Kings xxi, 16). *Cf.* the apocryphal *Ascension of Isaiah*, v, 11. The tradition is perhaps alluded to in Hebrews xi, 37.

per fragmen illud testeum,
quo parta crevit gloria,
et quem trementes posteri
exosculamur lectulum,
miserere nostrarum precum,
placatus ut Christus suis
inclinet aurem prosperam
noxas nec omnes inputet.
si rite sollemnem diem
veneramur ore et pectore,
si sub tuorum gaudio
vestigiorum sternimur,
paulisper huc inlabere,
Christi favorem deferens,
sensus gravati ut sentiant
levamen indulgentiae.
sic nulla iam restet mora,
quin excitatam nobilis
carnem resumat spiritus
virtute perfunctam pari,
ut, quae laborum particeps
commune discrimen tulit,
sit et coheres gloriae
cunctis in aevum saeculis.

VI

Hymnus in Honorem Beatissimorum Martyrum Fructuosi Episcopi Ecclesiae Tarraconensis, et Augurii et Eulogii Diaconorum.

Felix Tarraco, Fructuose, vestris
attollit caput ignibus coruscum
Levitis geminis procul relucens.

pots which made greater still the glory thou hadst gained, and the bed which we of later times kiss fondly in awe, have pity on our prayers, so that Christ being propitiated may incline a favourable ear to his people and not lay all our sins to our charge. If we duly reverence the day of thy festival with lips and heart, if we bow down before thy relics rejoicing in them, come down to us here for a little while bringing the favour of Christ, that our burdened souls may feel the relief of forgiveness. So may there remain no long time ere thy noble spirit put on again in resurrection the body which did deeds as valorous as its own, that the body which shared the struggles and bore the hazard in common may with it inherit the glory too through all ages for ever and ever.

VI

A Hymn in Honour of the Most Blessed Martyrs Fructuosus, Bishop of the Church of Tarraco, and Augurius and Eulogius, Deacons.[a]

Happy Tarraco, Fructuosus, lifts a head that flashes with the fires of you three. She shines afar in virtue of her two deacons. God surely looks with

[a] They suffered death by fire in 259.

Hispanos Deus aspicit benignus,
arcem quandoquidem potens Hiberam
trino martyre Trinitas coronat.
ardens Augurius capessit aethram,
nec non Eulogius simul supernum [1]
Christi lucidus ad sedile tendit.
dux et praevius et magister illis
ad tantum decus ex episcopali
clarus nomine Fructuosus ibat,
accitus quia praesidis repente
iussu venerat ad forum sacerdos
Levitis comitantibus duobus.
inde ad carceream viros catenam
pastus sanguine carnifex trahebat;
gaudet currere Fructuosus ultro.
ac, ne quis socios timor feriret,
praeceptor vehemens eundo firmat
incenditque fidem calore Christi.
" mecum state, viri. vocat cruentus
ad poenam coluber Dei ministros;
ne mors terreat; est parata palma.
carcer Christicolis gradus coronae est,
carcer provehit ad superna caeli,
carcer conciliat Deum beatis."
his dictis adeunt specum reorum,
exercent ibi mysticum lavacrum,
et purgamen aquae stupent tenebrae.
sex hic continuis latent diebus,
tandem stant trucis ad tribunal hostis:
fratres tergeminos tremunt catastae.
iudex Aemilianus inminebat
atrox, turbidus, insolens, profanus;
aras daemonicas coli iubebat.
" tu, qui doctor," ait, " seris novellum

kindness on the Spaniards, since the mighty Trinity crowns an Iberian city with three martyrs. In flames Augurius seeks the skies, and Eulogius with him in a blaze of light takes his course for the seat of Christ on high. Their leader, guide, and teacher, Fructuosus passed to this great honour in the eminence of the rank of bishop. For being summoned at short notice by the governor's order the priest had come to the court with the two deacons attending him. From there the blood-fed executioner was dragging them to bondage in prison, Fructuosus joyfully making haste of his own free will; and lest any fear should strike his companions, their instructor powerfully encouraged them as they went, kindling their faith from the burning love of Christ: "Stand firm with me like the men you are. The bloody serpent is summoning God's servants to suffer. Be not afraid of death. The prize awaits you. For the worshippers of Christ the prison is a step towards the crown; it advances them to the heavenly heights; it wins for them God's favour and blessing." At these words they reached the prisoners' cell, and there they performed the mystic rite of baptism [a] and the darkness was amazed at the cleansing power of water. Six days together they remained confined here, and then at last stood before the judgment-seat of their cruel enemy, and the racks trembled before the three brethren. Their judge Aemilianus, a fierce, violent, arrogant, unholy man, in a menacing attitude ordered them to worship at the altars of devils. "You," he said, "who are the teacher and

[a] In the "Acta" of Fructuosus it is stated that in the prison he baptised a certain Rogatianus.

[1] superbum *BVN and some other MSS.* (*A is not available*).

commenti genus, ut leves puellae
lucos destituant, Iovem relinquant,
damnes, si sapias, anile dogma.
iussum est Caesaris ore Gallieni,
quod princeps colit, ut colamus omnes."
haec fanti placidus refert sacerdos:
" aeternum colo principem dierum,
factorem dominumque Gallieni,
et Christum Patre prosatum perenni,
cuius sum famulus gregisque pastor."
subridens ait ille: " iam fuisti."
nec differt furor aut refrenat iram,
saevis destinat ignibus cremandos.
exultant prohibentque flere vulgum.
quosdam de populo videt sacerdos
libandum sibi poculum offerentes:
" ieiunamus," ait; " recuso potum:
nondum nona diem resignat hora;
numquam conviolabo ius dicatum,
nec mors ipsa meum sacrum resolvet.
sic Christus sitiens crucis sub hora
oblatum sibi poculum recusans
nec libare volens sitim peregit."
intrant interea locum rotunda
conclusum cavea, madens ferarum
multo sanguine quem furor frequentat,
cum spectacula perstrepunt cruenta
ac vilis gladiator ense duro
percussus cadit et fremit voluptas.
hic flammante pyra niger minister

[a] Son of the emperor Valerian and colleague with him as Augustus from 253, being in charge of the West from 256 or 257.

propagator of this modern falsehood, seeking to make light-minded girls desert the sacred groves and abandon Jupiter, if you are sensible you will condemn your old wives' teaching. It is commanded by the mouth of Caesar Gallienus [a] that we shall all worship what the sovereign worships." To these words the priest quietly answers: "I worship the everlasting sovereign of days, who is the creator and Lord of Gallienus, and Christ the son of the eternal Father, whose servant I am and the shepherd of his flock." But the judge says with a smile: "You are so no longer." Too mad with passion to defer or check his wrath, he appoints that they shall be burned with cruel fire. They, rejoicing, bid the throng not weep. The priest, seeing some of the people offer him a cup to sip, says: "We are fasting; I will not drink; not yet does the ninth hour [b] break the seal of the day; never shall I do violence to the sacred law, nor shall death itself relax my observance. Thus did Christ, though He thirsted, in the hour of crucifixion reject the cup that was offered to Him, and refusing to drink of it He carried on his thirst to the end." By this time they were entering a place enclosed by tiers of seats in a circle,[c] where frenzied crowds attend and are drunk with much blood of wild beasts, when the din rises from the bloody shows, and as the gladiator, whose life is held cheap, falls under the stroke of the stark sword there is a roar of delight. Here a black officer, bidden to make ready the fiery torture on a blazing pyre, had laid

[b] The weekly fast ended at the ninth hour (roughly 3 p.m.). Cf. *Cath.* viii, 9 ff.

[c] The amphitheatre.

ardens supplicium parare iussus
construxit facibus rogum supremis,
  qui, dum corpora concremanda [1] solvit,
ferventes animas amore lucis
fracto carceris expediret antro.
  certant officiis pii sodales:
plantis calciamenta dissolutis
pronus detrahere studebat unus,
  sed sanctus vetat ora Fructuosus
inclinata premi: "facessite," inquit,
"nec nostram gravet obsequella mortem.
  atquin ipse meos pedes resolvam,
ne vestigia praepedita vinclis
tardis gressibus inruant in ignem.
  cur lamenta rigant genas madentes?
cur vestri memor ut fiam rogatis?
cunctis pro populis rogabo Christum."
  vix haec ediderat, relaxat ipse
indumenta pedum, velut Moyses
quondam fecerat ad rubum propinquans.
  non calcare sacram cremationem
aut adstare Deo prius licebat
quam vestigia pura figerentur.
  stabat calce mera: resultat ecce
caelo spiritus et serit loquellam,
quae cunctos tremefecit audientes:
  "non est, credite, poena quam videtis,
quae puncto tenui citata transit,
nec vitam rapit illa, sed reformat.
  felices animae, quibus per ignem
celsa scandere contigit Tonantis,
quas olim fugiet perennis ignis."
  haec inter rapidis focos crepantes
intrant passibus et minantur ipsis

the topmost brands on the pile which, by destroying the bodies condemned to the flames, was to break open the prison cell and set free from it the souls which were burning with love of the light. Devoted friends vied with each other in services. One, stooping low, was anxiously seeking to undo the ties of Fructuosus' feet and draw off his shoes, but the holy man forbade him to bow down his head. "Leave us alone," he said; "do not make our death heavier to bear with your attentions. Nay, I shall myself unloose my feet so that my steps may not be hampered with ties and slow my pace in pressing into the fire. Why do lamentations wet your cheeks with streaming tears? Why do you ask me to remember you? I shall make request of Christ for all the world." The words were hardly spoken when he unfastened the shoes on his feet, just as Moses once did when he was approaching the bush, for he was not permitted to tread on the sacred fire or stand by God till the footprints he planted were undefiled. As he stood barefooted, suddenly the voice of a spirit rang from heaven uttering speech which made all tremble as they heard it: "Be assured this is no torment that you see; it passes quickly in a brief moment and does not take life away, but transforms it. Happy the souls whose lot it is to mount through fire to the high place of the Thunderer, for one day the everlasting fire will flee from them."

Meanwhile with quick steps they enter the roaring

[1] concremata *BVN and some other MSS. (A is not available).*

flammarum trepidantibus caminis.
nexus denique, qui manus retrorsus
in tergum revocaverant revinctas,
intacta cute decidunt adusti.
non ausa est cohibere poena palmas
in morem crucis ad Patrem levandas;
solvit bracchia, quae Deum precentur.
priscorum specimen trium putares,
quos olim Babylonicum per ignem
cantantes stupuit tremens tyrannus.
illis sed pia flamma tunc pepercit
nondum tempore passionis apto,
nec mortis decus inchoante Christo.
hos cum defugeret vaporus ardor,
orant ut celer ignis advolaret
et finem daret anxiis periclis.
exorata suos obire tandem
maiestas famulos iubet caducis
missos corporibus sibique reddi.
vidit praesidis ex domo satelles
caelum martyribus patere apertum
insignesque viros per astra ferri.
quin et filiolae monens erili
ostendit sceleris notam paterni,
caelo vivere quos forum peremit.
haec tum virginitas palam videre
per sudum meruit parente caeco,
ut crimen domini domus timeret.
tum de corporibus sacris favillae
et perfusa mero leguntur ossa,

fire, overawing even the flaming furnace so that it quivers before them. Thereupon the fastenings which kept their hands pulled back and tied behind them are burned and fall off, but the skin is unhurt. The torture dared not constrain the hands they purposed to lift up to the Father after the fashion of the cross; it set their arms free to pray to God. It was like the sight of the three in olden times whom the trembling despot was amazed to hear singing in the midst of the fire at Babylon.[a] But those at that time the pious flame spared because the fit time for martyrdom was not yet and Christ was not yet inaugurating glorious death; while these, when the burning heat kept from them, prayed that the fire might rush swiftly upon them and put an end to their tormenting perils, and God's majesty being prevailed upon commanded that his servants die at last, freed from their mortal bodies, and be restored to Him. An attendant belonging to the governor's household saw the heavens opened to receive the martyrs, and the illustrious three passing through the stars; yes, and he called the attention of his master's young daughter, showing her the token of her father's sin, that the men whom his court put to death were alive in heaven. That day her girlhood was deemed worthy to see these things plainly in the clear air, though her father was blind, so that the household feared the guilt of the master of the house.

Then the glowing ashes and the bones of the sacred bodies were sprinkled with wine [b] and gathered up,

[a] Cf. *Apoth.* 128–154.

[b] This was an ancient pagan custom after the cremation of the dead. Cf. *Iliad*, XXIII, 236 ff., *Aeneid*, VI, 226–227.

quae raptim sibi quisque vindicabat.
fratrum tantus amor domum referre
sanctorum cinerum dicata dona
aut gestare sinu fidele pignus.
sed ne reliquias resuscitandas
et mox cum domino simul futuras
discretis loca dividant sepulcris,
cernuntur niveis stolis amicti,
mandant restitui cavoque claudi
mixtim marmore pulverem sacrandum.
o triplex honor, o triforme culmen,
quo nostrae caput excitatur urbis,
cunctis urbibus eminens Hiberis!
exultare tribus libet patronis,
quorum praesidio fovemur omnes
terrarum populi Pyrenearum.
circumstet chorus ex utroque sexu;
heros, virgo, puer, senex, anulla,
vestrum psallite rite Fructuosum.
laudans Augurium resultet hymnus
mixtis Eulogium modis coaequans;
reddamus paribus pares camenas.
hinc aurata sonent in arce tecta,
blandum litoris extet inde murmur,
et carmen freta feriata pangant.
olim tempus erit ruente mundo,
cum te, Tarraco, Fructuosus acri
solvet supplicio tegens ab igni.
fors dignabitur et meis medellam
tormentis dare prosperante Christo,
dulces hendecasyllabos revolvens.

each man eagerly taking for himself; such was the desire of the brethren to take home consecrated gifts of the holy ashes, or to carry them in their bosoms as a trusty pledge. But lest remains which must one day be raised up again and then be together with the Lord should be sundered in separate burial-places at different spots, the three appeared, clad in snow-white robes, and enjoined that the hallowed dust be given back and enclosed together in a marble chamber.

O threefold honour, triple eminence, whereby our city's head is lifted up, towering over all the cities of Spain! We will rejoice in our three patrons, under whose protection all we peoples of the Pyrenean lands are cherished. Let a choir of either sex stand round about; grown men, girls and boys, old men and women, sing as befits you of your own Fructuosus. Let the hymn ring out in praise of Augurius and in mingled strains match Eulogius with him; let us render song equally to the equal. Here in the city let the gilded roofs re-echo, there a winning sound arise from the shore, and the seas keep holiday and make song. One day will come a time when in the dissolution of the world Fructuosus will free thee, Tarraco, from sore distresses, covering thee from fire; and perchance under Christ's favour he will deign to give relief to my torments too, as he recalls my sweet hendecasyllables.[a]

[a] *I.e.* lines of eleven syllables, the poem being written in the Phalaecian hendecasyllabic metre.

VII

Hymnus in Honorem Quirini Martyris, Episcopi Ecclesiae Siscianae.

Insignem meriti virum
Quirinum, placitum Deo,
urbis moenia Sisciae
concessum sibi martyrem
conplexu patrio fovent.
hic sub Galerio duce,
qui tunc Illyricos sinus
urgebat dicionibus,
fertur catholicam fidem
inlustrasse per exitum.
non illum gladii rigor,
non incendia, non ferae
crudeli interitu necant,
sed lymphis fluvialibus
gurges, dum rapit, abluit.
nil refert vitreo aequore
an de flumine sanguinis
tinguat passio martyrem;
aeque gloria provenit
fluctu quolibet uvida.
summo pontis ab ardui
sanctae plebis episcopus
in praeceps fluvio datur
suspensum laqueo gerens
ingentis lapidem molae.
deiectum placidissimo
amnis vertice suscipit
nec mergi patitur sibi,
miris vasta natatibus

VII

A Hymn in Honour of Quirinus, Martyr and Bishop of the Church of Siscia.[a]

The walls of Siscia's town in fatherly embrace cherish Quirinus, a man of illustrious merit and pleasing to God, a martyr granted to them. He, under the rule of Galerius,[b] whose dominion was then heavy on Illyricum's winding shore, by his death shed lustre, as they tell, on the Catholic faith. No stark sword nor fire nor wild beasts put him to a cruel death, but in the waters of a river the flood washed him clean as it carried him away. It is no matter whether a martyr's passion bathe him in glassy water or with a river of blood; glory springs equally whatever the stream that wets it. From the top of a high bridge the bishop of a pious people was cast down straight into the flood, carrying a great mill-stone hung by a rope about his neck. But when he was hurled down the river received him into its care in the calmest of pools, and did not suffer him to sink in it, but held up the stone's enormous weight float-

[a] Now Sziszek, in Yugoslavia.

[b] Caesar from 293 to 305 under Diocletian and Maximian, with charge of the Danubian provinces; afterwards Augustus. He was a ruthless foe to the Christians, and the effort to suppress them seems to have been due to his influence with Diocletian.

saxi pondera sustinens.
  spectant eminus e solo
doctorem pavidi greges;
nam Christi populus frequens
riparum sinuamina
stipato agmine saepserat.
  sed Quirinus, ut eminens
os circumtulit, heu, suos
exemplo trepidos videt,
nil ipse proprii memor
inter stagna periculi.
  confirmat pia pectora,
verbis mitificis rogans
ne quem talia terreant,
neu constans titubet fides
aut poenam putet emori.
  dicentem fluitantibus
amnis terga vehunt vadis,
nec substrata profunditas
saxoque et laqueo et viro
audet sponte dehiscere.
  sensit martyr episcopus
iam partam sibi praeripi
palmam mortis et exitus,
ascensumque negarier
aeterni ad solium Patris.
  " Iesu cunctipotens," ait,
" haudquaquam tibi gloria
haec est insolita aut nova,
calcare fremitum maris
prona et flumina sistere.
  scimus discipulum Petrum,
cum vestigia tingueret
mortali trepidus pede,

ing miraculously. Away on the ground anxious crowds were watching their teacher, for Christ's people in great numbers had lined the winding banks with a close-packed throng. But Quirinus, his head above water, turning to look round, regrets to see his flock in alarm at what is done to him, while he himself has no thought of his own peril amid the flood. He strengthens their loyal hearts, asking them in gentle words not to let such things affright any of them, nor their firm faith waver or think it pain to die. As he speaks the river with its flowing stream carries him on its surface, and the depths below do not dare to open of themselves to receive stone and noose and man.

The martyr bishop felt he was being robbed of the prize of death and departure he had won, and denied ascent to the throne of the everlasting Father. "Almighty Jesus," he said, "it is not for Thee any strange or new glory to tread the sounding sea and stay running streams. We know that thy disciple Peter, when his steps were dipping in the water because, having but human feet, he was afraid, by

dextrae subsidio tuae
subiecisse salum solo.
  Iordanem quoque novimus
tortis verticibus vagum,
dum fertur rapido impetu,
ad fontem refluis retro
confugisse meatibus.
  haec miracula sunt tuae
virtutis, Domine, ut modo
suspendar leve praenatans
summo gurgite fluminis,
cum collo scopulum traham.
  iam plenus titulus tui est
et vis prodita nominis,
quam gentilis hebet stupor:
absolvas, precor, optime,
huius nunc animae moras.
  quid possis probat amnicus,
qui vectat silicem, liquor.
hoc iam quod superest cedo,
quo nil est pretiosius
pro te, Christe Deus, mori."
  orantem simul halitus
et vox deserit et calor;
scandit spiritus ardua,
fit pondus grave saxeum,
corpus suscipiunt aquae.

VIII

De Loco in quo Martyres passi sunt, nunc Baptisterium est Calagurri.

Electus Christo locus est, ubi corda probata
  provehat ad caelum sanguine, purget aqua.

the help of thy right hand set his sole on top of the sea; and we know too that Jordan, with its twisting rambling stream, while rushing on in swift current turned its course about and fled back towards its source.[a] This is the wonderful work of thy power, O Lord, that now I am held up, floating lightly on the surface of the water of the river, though by my neck I drag a rock. Now is the honour of thy name fulfilled and its power made manifest, before which the heathen in their dulness stand amazed. Bring now to an end, I pray, good Christ, the things that are hindering this soul of mine. Thy power is proved by the water of the river, which is carrying a stone. Grant me now this that remains, the most precious gift of all, to die for Thee, O God Christ." As he prays, breath and voice and warmth of life together leave him; his spirit mounts on high, the weight of the stone grows heavy, and the waters receive his body.

VIII

On a Spot where Martyrs suffered at Calagurris, now a Baptistery.

This is a spot chosen of Christ for raising tried souls to heaven through blood, and for cleansing them

[a] *Cf.* Joshua, iii, 13 ff.

hic duo purpureum, Domini pro nomine caesi,
martyrium pulchra morte tulere viri.
hic etiam liquido fluit indulgentia fonte
ac veteres maculas diluit amne novo.
qui cupit aeternum caeli conscendere regnum,
huc veniat sitiens, ecce parata via est.
ante coronati scandebant ardua testes
atria, nunc lotae celsa petunt animae.
Spiritus aeterno [1] solitus descendere lapsu,
ut dederat palmam, sic tribuit veniam.
haurit terra sacros aut fonte aut sanguine rores
exundatque suo iugiter uda Deo.
ipse loci est dominus laterum cui vulnere utroque
hinc cruor effusus fluxit et inde latex.
ibitis hinc, ut quisque potest, per vulnera Christi
evectus gladiis alter et alter aquis.

IX

Passio Sancti Cassiani Forocorneliensis.

Sylla Forum statuit Cornelius; hoc Itali urbem
vocant ab ipso conditoris nomine.
hic mihi, cum peterem te, rerum maxima Roma,
spes est oborta prosperum Christum fore.
stratus humi tumulo advolvebar, quem sacer ornat
martyr dicato Cassianus corpore.

[1] *So Bergman's MSS. (except that ABU are wanting for this poem). Dressel and some earlier editors read* aethereo *or* aetherio *from certain other MSS.*

[a] Emeterius and Chelidonius. *Cf.* I.

with water. Here two heroes[a] that were slain for the Lord's name won scarlet martyrdom by their noble death, and here too mercy flows in the limpid fount and washes away old stains in its new stream. Whoso desires to ascend to the everlasting kingdom of the heavens, let him come here in his thirst, and he will find the way is made ready. Formerly crowned witnesses went up to the courts on high, now cleansed souls seek the heights. The Spirit who is wont to come down unendingly now offers pardon, as once He gave the palm of victory. The earth drinks in sacred drops of water or of blood and is ever wet and streaming to the glory of her God. The Lord of the place is He from whose two wounded sides flowed here discharge of blood, there of water. When you pass from here you will have been raised up through Christ's wounds, each as he is able, one by the sword, another by water.

IX

The Passion of St Cassian of Forum Cornelii.[b]

Cornelius Sulla[c] established a Forum, and so the Italians call the town, after its founder's name. Here when I was journeying towards thee, Rome, the world's capital, there sprang up in my heart a hope of Christ's favour. I was bowed to the ground before the tomb which the holy martyr Cassian

[b] In north Italy, now Imola. The date of Cassian's martyrdom is not known.

[c] The dictator. *Forum* in this usage indicates a Commune founded by a Roman magistrate, usually on one of the great military roads, in this case the Via Aemilia.

dum lacrimans mecum reputo mea vulnera et omnes
vitae labores ac dolorum acumina,
erexi ad caelum faciem, stetit obvia contra
fucis colorum picta imago martyris
plagas mille gerens, totos lacerata per artus,
ruptam minutis praeferens punctis cutem.
innumeri circum pueri, miserabile visu,
confossa parvis membra figebant stilis,
unde pugillares soliti percurrere ceras
scholare murmur adnotantes scripserant.
aedituus consultus ait: " quod prospicis, hospes,
non est inanis aut anilis fabula;
historiam pictura refert, quae tradita libris
veram vetusti temporis monstrat fidem.
praefuerat studiis puerilibus et grege multo
saeptus magister litterarum sederat,
verba notis brevibus conprendere cuncta peritus,
raptimque punctis dicta praepetibus sequi.
aspera nonnumquam praecepta et tristia visa
inpube vulgus moverant ira et metu.
doctor amarus enim discenti semper ephebo,
nec dulcis ulli disciplina infantiae est.
ecce fidem quatiens tempestas saeva premebat
plebem dicatam Christianae gloriae.
extrahitur coetu e medio moderator alumni
gregis, quod aris supplicare spreverat.
poenarum artifici quaerenti quod genus artis
vir nosset alto tam rebellis spiritu,
respondent: ' agmen tenerum ac puerile gubernat,

---

[a] The *stilus* was a metal instrument adapted for writing on tablets of box-wood covered with wax. It was pointed at one end, while the other was flattened for smoothing out the wax and so erasing what had been written. *Cf.* lines 51–54.

honours with his consecrated body; and while in tears I was thinking of my sins and all my life's distresses and stinging pains, I lifted my face towards heaven, and there stood confronting me a picture of the martyr painted in colours, bearing a thousand wounds, all his parts torn, and showing his skin broken with tiny pricks. Countless boys round about (a pitiful sight!) were stabbing and piercing his body with the little styles [a] with which they used to run over their wax tablets, writing down the droning lesson in school. I appealed to the verger and he said: "What you are looking at, stranger, is no vain old wife's tale. The picture tells the story of what happened; it is recorded in books and displays the honest assurance of the olden time. He had been in charge of a school for boys and sat as a teacher of reading and writing with a great throng round him, and he was skilled in putting every word in short signs and following speech quickly with swift pricks on the wax.[b] But at times the young mob, feeling his teaching harsh and stern, were moved with anger and fear, for the teacher is ever distasteful to the youthful learner and childhood never takes kindly to training. Now there came a cruel tempest battering the faith and pressing hard on the people devoted to the Christian glory. The governor of the flock of pupils was dragged from the midst of his class because he had scornfully refused to worship at the altars, and when the contriver of punishments asked of what profession this man of such high and unruly spirit was, they answered: 'He teaches a company of young children, giving them their first lessons in

[b] Shorthand in one form or another had been used at Rome since the time of Cicero.

fictis notare verba signis inbuens.'
' ducite,' conclamat, ' captivum ducite, et ultro
donetur ipsis verberator parvulis.
ut libet inludant, lacerent inpune manusque
tinguant magistri feriatas sanguine.
ludum discipulis volupe est ut praebeat ipse
doctor severus quos nimis coercuit.'
vincitur post terga manus spoliatus amictu,
adest acutis agmen armatum stilis.
quantum quisque odii tacita conceperat ira,
effundit ardens felle tandem libero.
coniciunt alii fragiles inque ora tabellas
frangunt, relisa fronte lignum dissilit,
buxa crepant cerata genis inpacta cruentis
rubetque ab ictu curta et umens pagina.
inde alii stimulos et acumina ferrea vibrant,
qua parte aratis cera sulcis scribitur,
et qua secti apices abolentur et aequoris hirti
rursus nitescens innovatur area.
hinc foditur Christi confessor et inde secatur;
pars viscus intrat molle, pars scindit cutem.
omnia membra manus pariter fixere ducentae,
totidemque guttae vulnerum stillant simul.
maior tortor erat qui summa pupugerat infans,
quam qui profunda perforarat viscera;
ille, levis quoniam percussor morte negata
saevire solis scit dolorum spiculis,
hic, quanto interius vitalia condita pulsat,

writing down words with signs invented for the purpose.' 'Take him away,' he cried, 'take him away a prisoner, and make the children a present of the man who used to flog them. Let them make sport of him as they please, give them leave to mangle him at will, let them give their hands a holiday and dip them in their master's blood. It is a pleasant thought that the strict teacher should himself furnish sport to the pupils he has too much held down.'

"So he is stripped of his garments and his hands are tied behind his back, and all the band are there, armed with their sharp styles. All the hatred long conceived in silent resentment they each vent now, burning with gall that has at last found freedom. Some throw their brittle tablets and break them against his face, the wood flying in fragments when it strikes his brow, the wax-covered box-wood splitting with a loud crack as it is dashed on his blood-stained cheeks, the broken slab wet and red from the blow. Others again launch at him the sharp iron pricks, the end with which by scratching strokes the wax is written upon, and the end with which the letters that have been cut are rubbed out and the roughened surface once more made into a smooth, glossy space. With the one the confessor of Christ is stabbed, with the other he is cut; the one end enters the soft flesh, the other splits the skin. Two hundred hands together have pierced him all over his body, and from all these wounds at once the blood is dripping. A greater torturer was the child who only pricked the surface than he who bored deep into the flesh; for the light hitter who will not wound to the death has the skill to be cruel with only the piercing pains, but the other, the farther he strikes into the hidden vitals,

plus dat medellae dum necem prope applicat.
‘ este, precor, fortes, et vincite viribus annos;
quod defit aevo, suppleat crudelitas.’
sed male conatus tener infirmusque laborat;
tormenta crescunt dum fatiscit carnifex.
‘ quid gemis ? ’ exclamat quidam; ‘ tute ipse magister
istud dedisti ferrum et armasti manus.
reddimus ecce tibi tam milia multa notarum,
quam stando, flendo te docente excepimus.
non potes irasci quod scribimus; ipse iubebas
numquam quietum dextera ut ferret stilum.
non petimus totiens te praeceptore negatas,
avare doctor, iam scholarum ferias.
pangere puncta libet sulcisque intexere sulcos,
flexas catenis inpedire virgulas.
emendes licet inspectos longo ordine versus,
mendosa forte si quid erravit manus.
exerce imperium: ius est tibi plectere culpam,
si quis tuorum te notavit segnius.’
talia ludebant pueri per membra magistri,
nec longa fessum poena solvebat virum.
tandem luctantis miseratus ab aethere Christus
iubet resolvi pectoris ligamina,
difficilesque moras animae ac retinacula vitae
relaxat, artas et latebras expedit.
sanguis ab interno venarum fonte patentes
vias secutus deserit praecordia,
totque foraminibus penetrati corporis exit
fibrarum anhelans ille vitalis calor.
haec sunt, quae liquidis expressa coloribus, hospes,

gives more relief by bringing death near. 'Be stout, I beg,' he cries, 'and outdo your years with your strength. What you lack in age let a savage spirit make up.' But the young boys from lack of vigour fail in their efforts and begin to be fatigued; the torments worsen while the tormentors grow faint. 'Why do you complain?' calls one; 'you yourself as our teacher gave us this iron and put the weapon in our hands. You see we are giving you back all the thousands of characters which as we stood in tears we took down from your teaching. You cannot be angry with us for writing; it was you who bade us never let our hand carry an idle style. We are no longer asking for what was so often refused when we were under your instruction, you stingy teacher,—a holiday from school. We like making pricks, twining scratch with scratch and linking curved strokes together. You may examine and correct our lines in long array, in case an erring hand has made any mistake. Use your authority; you have power to punish a fault, if any of your pupils has written carelessly on you.' Such sport the boys had on their master's body, and yet the long-drawn suffering was not releasing him from his weariness. At length Christ, taking pity from heaven on his struggles, commands that the bands be loosened from his soul, undoes the irksome hindrances that detain his spirit and hold his life, and opens out its confined seat. The blood follows the open ways from its source in the veins within and leaves the heart, and through the many holes pierced in the body the pulsing warmth of life in the flesh departs.

"This, stranger, is the story you wonder to see represented in liquid colours, this is the glory of

miraris, ista est Cassiani gloria.
suggere si quod habes iustum vel amabile votum,
spes si qua tibi est, si quid intus aestuas.
audit, crede, preces martyr prosperrimus omnes,
ratasque reddit quas videt probabiles."
pareo, conplector tumulum, lacrimas quoque fundo,
altar tepescit ore, saxum pectore.
tunc arcana mei percenseo cuncta laboris,
tunc quod petebam, quod timebam murmuro,
et post terga domum dubia sub sorte relictam
et spem futuri forte nutantem boni.
audior, urbem adeo, dextris successibus utor:
domum revertor, Cassianum praedico.

X

Sancti Romani Martyris contra Gentiles Dicta.[1]

Romane, Christi fortis adsertor Dei,
elinguis oris organum fautor move,
largire comptum carmen infantissimo,
fac ut tuarum mira laudum concinam,
nam scis et ipse posse mutos eloqui.
plectrum palati et faucium saevus tibi
tortor revulsit, nec tamen silentium
indixit ori quo fatebaris Deum.
vox veritatis testis extingui nequit,

[1] *This is the title as in B (7th century). A is not available. The poem, it seems probable, was originally a separate publication. See Bergman's Prolegomena p. xiii.*

Cassian. Declare now any upright and worthy wish you have, any hope, any desire that burns in your heart. The martyr, you may be sure, hears with all favour every prayer, and fulfils those that he finds acceptable."

I obeyed, clasping the tomb and shedding tears, warming the altar with my lips, the stone with my breast. Then I reviewed all my private distresses, and murmured my desires and fears, with a prayer for the home I had left behind me in the uncertainty of fortune, and my hope, now faltering, of happiness to come. I was heard. I visited Rome, and found all things issue happily. I returned home and now proclaim the praise of Cassian.

X

The Declarations of St. Romanus the Martyr against the Pagans.[a]

Romanus, stout defender of the divine Christ, grant thy favour and stir up the tongue within my speechless mouth, bountifully bestow graceful song on the mutest of men and enable me to sing the wonders of thy glory; for thou knowest, thyself too, that the dumb can speak. The cruel torturer tore out from thee the tongue that played on palate and throat, and yet did not impose silence on the lips wherewith thou wert confessing God. The voice that bears witness to the truth cannot be annihilated, even if its

[a] He was a deacon at Caesarea, but suffered at Antioch in 303. See A. J. Mason, *The Persecution of Diocletian* (Cambridge, 1876), p. 188.

nec si recisis palpitet meatibus.
  sic noster haerens sermo lingua debili
balbutit et modis laborat absonis,
sed si superno rore respergas iecur
et spiritali lacte pectus inriges,
vox inpeditos rauca laxabit sonos.
  evangelista scripsit ipsum talia
praecepta Messian dedisse apostolis:
" nolite verba, cum sacramentum meum
erit canendum, providenter quaerere;
ego inparatis quae loquantur suggeram."
  sum mutus ipse, sed potens facundiae
mea lingua Christus luculente disseret.
ipse explicabit quos supremo spiritu
daemon tumultus, dum domatur, moverit,
furore pestis peior in novissimo.
  sic vulneratus anguis ictu spiculi
ferrum remordet et dolore saevior
quassando pressis inmoratur dentibus,
hastile fixum sed manet profundius
nec cassa sentit morsuum pericula.
  Galerius orbis forte Romanae statum
ductor regebat, ut refert antiquitas,
inmitis, atrox, asper, inplacabilis.
edicta late mundum in omnem miserat,
Christum negaret quisque mallet vivere.
  haec ille serpens ore dictat regio,
qui mortuorum de sepulcris exiens
clamat: " quid ante tempus adventu cito

[a] *Cf.* Matthew x, 18–20.
[b] See note on VII, 6.

passage be cut away and it can only gasp. So my speech sticks and stammers with feeble tongue and labours in inharmonious measures; but if thou sprinkle my heart with the dew from on high and flood my breast with the milk of the spirit, my hoarse voice will unloose the sounds which are now obstructed. The Evangelist has written that the Messiah himself instructed the apostles in this wise: "Seek not with forethought for words when my mystic doctrine is to be proclaimed. I shall furnish the unready with what they shall say."[a] In myself I am dumb, but Christ is master of eloquence; He will be my tongue and discourse excellently. He will set forth all the uproar that the devil raised with his last breath while he was being subdued, a bane grown worse than ever in his latest frenzy. Just so a serpent wounded by stroke of spear-point bites back at the steel and keeps on shaking it in the grip of its teeth, growing more savage with the pain, but the lance has pierced too deeply and stays fast, unconscious of the futile danger of the bites.

Galerius[b] was in power, as it befell, governing the affairs of the Roman world, a man who, as old times tell, was ruthless, cruel, hard, implacable, and he had sent forth proclamations far and wide over the whole world that any man who chose to live must deny Christ.[c] It was that serpent that uttered these words by the imperial lips, which as he came out of the tombs of the dead cried: "Why dost Thou come so speedily before it is time and destroy my kingdom?

[c] Diocletian's edicts were not so crude (see Parker, *History of the Roman World, A.D.* 138–337, London, 1935, pp. 236–237, Mason, *op. cit.*, pp. 101 ff.) But Galerius and his officers seem to have administered them in their own spirit.

mea regna solvis? parce, Fili altissimi,
vel possidere corda porcorum iube."
  praefectus istis inminens negotiis
Asclepiades ire mandat milites
ecclesiasten usque de sacrariis
raptare plebem mancipandam vinculis
ni disciplinam Nazarenam respuat.
  mox ipse templum cogitans inrumpere
et dissipare sancta sanctorum studens
armis profanus praeparabat inpiis
altaris aram funditus pessum dare
foresque et ipsas in ruinam solvere.
  praecurrit index his repente cognitis
Romanus acris heros excellentiae,
venire in armis perduelles nuntiat
animos paventum praestruens hortatibus,
stent ut parati neve cedant turbini.
  conspirat uno foederatus spiritu
grex Christianus, agmen inperterritum
matrum, virorum, parvulorum, virginum;
fixa et statuta est omnibus sententia
fidem tueri vel libenter emori.
  refert repulsus miles ad subsellia
plebis rebellis esse Romanum ducem,
flagrare cunctos pervicaci audacia,
iugulos retectos obstinate opponere,
quo gloriosa morte fortes oppetant.
  praeceps iubetur inde Romanus rapi
solusque ut incitator et fax omnium
pro contumaci plebe causam dicere.
it non resistens seque vinciri petit
flexas et ultro torquet in tergum manus.
  amor coronae paene praevenit trucem
lictoris artem sponte nudas offerens

Spare me, Son of the Most High, or command that I take possession of the hearts of the swine." [a] The prefect Asclepiades, bent on this task, ordered soldiers to go and carry off the people of the Church from the very sanctuaries, to be delivered over to imprisonment unless they rejected the Nazarene teaching. Then himself meaning to break into the church, and eager to demolish the Holy of Holies, he was making ready profanely with ungodly force to cast down the altar of sacrifice utterly to the ground and smash the very doors. At this unexpected news Romanus, a holy man of outstanding boldness, hastens to give warning before it happens and brings word that enemies are coming in arms, fortifying the hearts of the fearful with exhortations to stand ready and not give way before the storm. The Christian flock is united in the league of one spirit, a company undismayed of mothers and husbands, little children and maidens, all with determination firmly set to maintain their faith or be willing to die. The soldiers, being driven back, report to the tribunal that Romanus is leader of the people in their refusal to submit and that all are on fire with a determined boldness, resolutely presenting their throats uncovered and meaning to meet a glorious death with fortitude. Thereupon order is given that Romanus be arrested and brought with all haste and, because it is he who singly incites and inflames them all, be put on trial as representative of the stubborn people. He goes unresisting, asks to be bound, and of his own accord turns his hands round behind him. His passion for the martyr's crown all but outstrips the lictor's cruel trade, freely

[a] *Cf.* Matthew viii, 28 ff.

costas bisulcis exsecandas ungulis.
inrumpit altum limen et praeconibus
stupore mutis ipse tortorem trahit.
adstanti ob ora sic tyrannus incipit:
" infame monstrum, vilis, intestabilis,
tu ventilator urbis et vulgi levis
procella mentes inquietas mobiles,
ne se inperita turba dedat legibus.
populare quiddam sub colore gloriae
inlitterata credidit frequentia,
ut se per aevum consecrandos autument,
si bella divis ceu gigantes inferant
victique flammis obruantur montium.
hoc tu parasti, perdite, spectaculum
cladis cruentae de necandis [1] civibus,
quos ut profanos inpiati et saeculi
reos necesse est te magistro interfici:
tu causa mortis, tu malorum signifer.
ni fallor, aequum est ut, quod auctor inprobus
tolerare multos conpulisti ut carnifex,
in te recurrat, proque tantis caedibus,
quae mox futurae, primus exitium luas,
feras et ipse quod ferendum suaseras."
his ille contra reddit ore libero:
" amplector, o praefecte, nec me subtraho,
ut pro fideli plebe solus inmoler,

[1] denecandis *Bergman, taking the phrase as a dative of purpose, but this compound is otherwise unknown.*

exposing his bare ribs to be cut away with the two-forked claws. He dashes into the august door-way, dragging the torturer after him, while the ushers of the court are dumb with amazement. As he stands face to face, the oppressor thus addresses him: "You monstrous villain, base and infamous, *you* are the disturber of the city's peace, like a stormy wind disordering the fickle mob's inconstant minds so that the ignorant rabble shall not submit to the law. The uneducated multitude has believed a doctrine that appeals to the people under the guise of glory, so that they aver that they are to be made immortal through all time if, like the Giants,[a] they make war on the gods and in defeat are buried under flaming mountains. It is you, you wretch, who have contrived this exhibition of bloody calamity from the slaughter of citizens who, because they are impious and guilty of bringing sin upon the world, cannot fail to be put to death as the result of your teaching. *You* are the cause of their death, *you* lead them on to do evil. To my mind it is just that the fate which your wicked instigation has driven many to suffer, as much as if you were their executioner, should come back on yourself, and that for the great slaughters soon to happen you should be the first to pay the penalty of death, suffering yourself what you urged that they should suffer."

To this Romanus answered with bold speech: "Gladly, sir, and with no shirking, do I accept the part of being sacrificed alone for the faithful people;

[a] The Giants in the Greek mythology were sons of Earth, who at her instigation made war on the gods but were defeated and imprisoned under volcanic mountains such as Etna (Cf. *Aeneid*, III, 578 ff.).

dignus subire cuncta, si me consulis,
quaecumque vestra iusserit crudelitas.
intrare servis idolorum ac daemonum
sanctam salutis non licet nostrae domum,
ne polluatur purus orandi locus;
confido Sancto in Spiritu numquam tibi
dandum ut beatum limen attingas pede,
nisi forte noster factus in nostrum gregem
mereare sumi, quod Pater faxit Deus."
incensus his Asclepiades iusserat
eviscerandum corpus eculeo eminus
pendere et uncis vinculisque crescere.
apparitores sed furenti suggerunt
illum vetusta nobilem prosapia
meritisque multis esse primum civium.
iubet amoveri noxialem stipitem,
plebeia clarum poena ne damnet virum.
" tundatur," inquit, " terga crebris ictibus
plumboque cervix verberata extuberet.
persona quaeque conpetenter plectitur
magnique refert vilis an sit nobilis;
gradu reorum forma tormentis datur."
pulsatus ergo martyr illa grandine
postquam inter ictus dixit hymnum plumbeos,
erectus infit: " absit ut me nobilem
sanguis parentum praestet aut lex curiae:
generosa Christi secta nobilitat viros.
si prima nostris quae sit incunabulis
origo textu stemmatis recenseas,
Dei parentis esse ab ore coepimus.
cui quisque servit, ille vere est nobilis:
patri rebellis invenitur degener.
honos deinde stemmati accedit novus

for if you ask me, I am worthy to undergo all that the cruelty of you rulers commands. Servants of idols and devils are not allowed to enter the holy house of our salvation, lest the pure place of prayer be defiled. I trust in the Holy Spirit that never shall it be granted you to set foot on the blessed doorway, —unless you become one of us and worthy of admission to our flock, which may God the Father bring to pass." Angered at these words, Asclepiades gave orders that his body be slung up on the rack to be torn, and be stretched with hooks and cords. But in the midst of his rage his attendants brought to his notice that Romanus was a nobleman of long descent, whose many services had made him first of citizens; so he ordered the wooden engine of punishment to be removed, lest he sentence a man of distinction to a penalty intended for the vulgar. "Let his back be beaten with many strokes, and his shoulders swell up with the blows of the leaded lash. Any man is punished suitably to his status, and it makes much difference whether he is meanly or nobly born. The tortures are given their shape according to the rank of the prisoners."

So the martyr received that hail of blows. Amid the leaded strokes he voiced a hymn, and then raising himself said: "Far be it from me that the blood of my parents or the law of the senate-chamber should make me noble; it is Christ's noble teaching that ennobles men. If you examine into the first origin of our birth by constructing a family tree, it is from the mouth of God our Father that our existence begins. Whosoever serves Him is the true nobleman; he who will not submit to the Father turns out to be debased. And then a new honour accrues to our

et splendor ingens ut magistratus venit,
si confitendi nominis testem probum
signent inusta ferri et ignis vulnera
et vim dolorum mors sequatur inclyta.
  cave benignus esse perverse velis,
nec mi remissus leniter peperceris;
incumbe membris, tortor, ut sim nobilis.
his ampliatus si fruar successibus,
genus patris matrisque flocci fecero.
  haec ipsa vestra dignitatum culmina
quid esse censes? nonne cursim transeunt
fasces, secures, sella, praetextae togae,
lictor, tribunal, et trecenta insignia
quibus tumetis, moxque detumescitis?
  cum consulatum initis, ut vernae solent,
(pudet fateri) farre pullos pascitis;
aquila ex eburna sumit adrogantiam
gestator eius ac superbit beluae
inflatus osse, cui figura est alitis.
  iam si sub aris ad sigillorum pedes
iaceatis infra sectilem quercum siti,
quid esse vobis aestimem proiectius?
nudare plantas ante carpentum scio
proceres togatos matris Idaeae sacris.
  lapis nigellus evehendus essedo

---

[a] The toga edged with purple, which was worn by high magistrates.

[b] An old method of taking auspices, which had been used on military expeditions. The nature of the omen depended on whether the chickens refused or took the food, and the manner in which they took it.

[c] An ivory staff or sceptre, topped with the figure of an eagle, was in republican times carried by a general celebrating a

descent, a great distinction comes to us, like that of an office of state, if a witness who uprightly confesses the name is marked with the branded wounds of iron and fire and a glorious death follows on his violent pains. Be not wrongly kind, do not spare me with indulgent leniency. Do your worst on my body, tormentor, so that I may be ennobled. If I have the benefit of victory in these contests to enhance me, I shall set small store by my father's or my mother's birth. Even the exalted ranks that men like you have reached,—what do you reckon them to be? Do they not pass away quickly, the rods, the axes, the chair of state, the bordered robe,[a] the lictor, the judgment-seat, and all the thousand badges of honour on the strength of which you swell with pride, and then fall flat? When you enter on the consulship you feed chickens with meal,[b] doing (I feel shame to say it!) the work of slaves. The man who carries the ivory eagle puts on a haughty air on the strength of it; he is blown up with pride by a beast's bone wrought into the shape of a bird.[c] And when you are prostrate at the base of an altar at the feet of some statue, lowering yourselves before a hewn oak tree, what can I think more abject than you? I know that nobles in their togas bare their feet before the car at the rites of the Idaean Mother.[d] A paltry black stone encased in silver with a woman's

triumph, but later apparently borne by consuls. Cf. *Contra Symm.* I, 349.

[d] The Magna Mater (see the note on *Contra Symm.* I, 187). At the festival of the Megalesia the image was seated in a car and drawn in procession. See the descriptions in Lucretius, II, 600 ff., Ovid, *Fasti*, IV, 181 ff. The ceremonial washing of the stone in the small stream of the Almo, outside the Porta Capena at Rome, was performed annually.

muliebris oris clausus argento sedet,
quem dum ad lavacrum praeeundo ducitis
pedes remotis atterentes calceis,
Almonis usque pervenitis rivulum.
  quid illa turpis pompa? nempe ignobiles
vos esse monstrat, cum luperci curritis.
quem servulorum non rear vilissimum,
nudus plateas si per omnes cursitans
pulset puellas verbere ictas ludicro?
  miseret tuorum me sacrorum et principum
morumque, Roma, saeculi summum caput.
age explicemus, si placet, mysteria,
praefecte, vestra: iam necesse est audias,
nolis velisne, quid colatis sordium.
  nec terret ista, qua tumes, vesania,
quod vultuosus, quod supinus, quod rigens
tormenta leti comminaris asperi:
si me movere rebus ullis niteris,
ratione mecum, non furore, dimica.
  iubes, relictis Patris et Christi sacris,
ut tecum adorem feminas mille ac mares,
deas deosque, deque sexu duplici
natos, nepotes, abnepotes editos
et tot stuprorum sordidam prosapiam.
  nubunt puellae, saepe luduntur dolis,
amasionum comprimuntur fraudibus,
incesta fervent, furta moechorum calent,
fallit maritus, odit uxor paelicem,
deos catenae conligant adulteros.
  ostende, quaeso, quas ad aras praecipis
vervece caeso fumet ut caespes meus?
Delphosne pergam? sed vetat palaestrici

[a] See note on *Contra Symm.* II, 862.

features is to be carried forth sitting in a chariot, and you go in front leading it to the washing place with your shoes off, bruising your feet on the ground, till you come to Almo's little stream. What of that other infamous procession? It does show you debased when you run in the character of Luperci.[a] I must think anyone the meanest of mean slaves if he runs about naked through all the streets, striking girls in sport with the blows of a lash. I pity thy rites and thy rulers and ways, O Rome, thou supreme head of this world. Come, sir, let us set forth, if you do not mind, your side's religion. Now you must needs hear, whether you will or not, the base things you worship. There are no terrors for me in this mad rage with which you are bursting, the grim look, the head in air, the unbending mien with which you threaten me with the tortures of a cruel death. If you are trying to move me by any means, fight me with reason, not with frenzy. You bid me abandon 7
the worship of the Father and Christ, and along with you venerate a thousand males and females, goddesses and gods and children, grandchildren, great-great-grandchildren of both sexes born to them, and the base progeny of their many unchastities. The girls marry, or often they are made the sport of trickery and violated by dishonest lovers, lewdness and stratagems of paramours go briskly on, a husband is unfaithful and a wife hates a mistress, chains bind adulterous gods.[b] Show me, pray, the altars where you command that my turf shall smoke with a slaughtered ram. Shall I go to Delphi? No, I am

[b] The allusion is to the story of the trap in which Hephaestus (Vulcan) caught Aphrodite (Venus) and Ares (Mars) (*Odyssey* VIII, 266 ff.).

corrupta ephebi fama, quem vester deus
effeminavit gymnadis licentia.
  mox flevit inpuratus occisum gravi
disco et dicavit florulentum subcubam.
conductus idem pavit alienum pecus,
furem deinde perditi passus gregis
segnis bubulcus tela et ipsa perdidit.
  an ad Cybebes ibo lucum pineum?
puer sed obstat gallus ob libidinem
per triste vulnus perque sectum dedecus
ab inpudicae tutus amplexu deae,
per multa Matri sacra plorandus spado.
  sed, credo, magni limen amplectar Iovis,
qui si citetur legibus vestris reus,
laqueis minacis implicatus Iuliae
luat severam victus [1] et Scantiniam,
te cognitore dignus ire in carcerem.
  quid? aureorum conditorem temporum
censes colendum? quem fugacem non negas
latuisse furtim dum reformidat malum;
quem si beate vivere audit Iuppiter,
plectat necesse est occulendi conscios.
  quid inter aras dissidentum numinum
putas agendum? Martis indignabitur

[1] vinctus *CDP*.

---

[a] Hyacinthus of Amyclae, near Sparta, was beloved of the Delphic Apollo, who accidentally killed him in throwing a quoit. A version of the story is told by Ovid (*Metamorphoses*, X, 162 ff.). In *florulentum* there is a secondary allusion to the flower which was said to have sprung from his blood.

[b] Apollo, being condemned to serve a mortal for a year, became herdsman to Admetus, King of Pherae. The theft of Apollo's cattle and of his bow and arrows by the infant Hermes (Mercurius) is another Greek story.

forbidden by the spoiled repute of the lad on the exercise-ground, whom your god dishonoured, taking advantage of the freedom of the wrestling-bout; and later on the vile god wept for him because he was killed with a heavy quoit, and made his leman immortal in the bloom of youth.[a] He hired himself out, too, to feed another's herd and then, being a lazy herdsman, fell a victim to a thief and lost his herd and lost his weapons too.[b] Or shall I go to Cybebe's pine-grove? No, for there stands in my way the lad who emasculated himself because of her lust, and by a grievous wound cutting the parts of shame saved himself from the unchaste goddess's embrace, a eunuch [c] for whom the Mother has to lament in many a rite. But, I suppose, I should cleave to the abode of great Jupiter, who if he were summoned for trial under your statutes would be caught in the toils of the menacing Julian [d] law, and convicted under the stern Scantinian [d] law too and pay its penalty, and you as judge would find him worthy to go to prison. Well then, do you reckon the founder of the golden age [e] deserving of worship? You admit that he lay privily in hiding, a fugitive in fear of ill-treatment; but if Jupiter hears that he is alive and prosperous he cannot fail to punish those who were accomplices in his concealment. What, think you, is to be done when you have on either hand the altars of deities who are at variance? The valiant Mars will be hurt and angry if the

[c] Attis, beloved of Cybebe (= Cybele, Mother of the Gods). Cf. *Contra Symm.* II, 52.

[d] The *lex Iulia de adulteriis* enacted by Augustus, and the earlier *lex Scantinia* against unnatural offences.

[e] Saturn. See note on *Contra Symm.* I, 44.

offensa virtus si colatur Lemnius,
Iunonis iram sentiet quisque ut deum
signo aut sacello consecrarit Herculem.
dicis licenter haec poetas fingere,
sed sunt et ipsi talibus mysteriis
tecum dicati, quodque describunt, colunt.
tu cur piaclum tam libenter lectitas?
cur in theatris te vidente id plauditur?
cygnus stuprator peccat inter pulpita,
saltat Tonantem tauricornem ludius:
spectator horum pontifex summus sedes
ridesque et ipse, nec negando diluis,
cum fama tanti polluatur numinis.
cur tu, sacrate, per cachinnos solveris
cum se maritum fingit Alcmenae deus?
meretrix Adonem vulneratum scaenica
libidinoso plangit adfectu palam,
nec te lupanar Cypridis sanctae movet?
quid quod sub ipsis veritas signis patet,
formata in aere criminum vestigiis?
quid vult sigillum semper adfixum Iovi
avis ministrae? nempe velox armiger
leno, exoletum qui tyranno pertulit.
facem recincta veste praetendit Ceres:
cur, si deorum nemo rapuit virginem,

[a] Vulcan, who when hurled from heaven by Jupiter landed on the island of Lemnos (*Iliad*, I, 590–4) which, as its people cared for him, was afterwards " by far the dearest of all lands to him " (*Odyssey*, VIII, 284).

[b] She hated Hercules from his birth, indeed before it, and did her worst to bring trouble on him.

[c] See *Contra Symm.* I, 59–64.

Lemnian [a] is worshipped; and anyone who consecrates Hercules as a god with statue or shrine will feel the wrath of Juno.[b] You say the poets invent these tales at their pleasure; but they are themselves devoted, no less than you, to such mystic cults, and what they describe they worship. Why do *you* always find such pleasure in reading of sin? Why is it applauded in the theatres, where *you* see it enacted? The ravisher swan [c] does his evil deed on the stage, a player dances the part of the Thunderer with the bull's horns, while you, the high priest, sit and watch these things and laugh at them yourself, and never discredit them by denying their truth, though the good name of this great deity is soiled. Why does your reverence burst into loud laughter when the god pretends he is Alcmena's husband? [d] A harlot on the stage mourns for the wounded Adonis [e] with frankly lustful passion, and are you not moved to anger at the whoring ascribed to the holy Lady of Cyprus? Indeed the truth of these stories is clear to see in the statues themselves, where it is shaped in bronze in the prints of their crimes. What means the figure of the attendant bird that is always attached to Jupiter? Of course it is the swift armour-bearer-pander that carried the debauched youth [f] to the tyrant. Ceres, her robe girt back, holds out a torch before her. Why, if not that a god carried off a

[d] Amphitryo, whose form Jupiter took. The story is the theme of a play by Plautus. The *pantomimus*, who enacted scenes in dumb show (*saltare*), came into fashion in the early Empire.

[e] The beloved of Venus. He was killed by a boar while hunting. Venus is called *Cypris* because her cult was of ancient standing in Cyprus.

[f] Ganymede. See note on *Contra Symm.* I, 61.

quam nocte quaerens mater errat pervigil?
fusos rotantem cernimus Tirynthium:
cur, si Neaerae non fuit ludibrio?
  quid? rusticorum monstra detester deum,
Faunos, Priapos, fistularum praesides,
nymphas natantes incolasque aquatiles,
sitas sub alto, more ranarum, lacu,
divinitatis ius in algis vilibus?
  ad haec colenda me vocas, censor bone?
potesne quidquam tale, si sanum sapis,
sanctum putare? nonne pulmonem movet
derisus istas intuens ineptias,
quas vinolentae somniis fingunt anus?
  aut si quod usquam est vanitatis mysticae
nobis colendum est, ipse primus incipe:
promisce adora quidquid in terris sacri est,
deos Latinos et deos Aegyptios,
quis Roma libat, quis Canopus supplicat.
  Venerem precaris, conprecare et simiam.
placet sacratus aspis Aesculapii:
crocodillus, ibis et canis cur displicent?
adpone porris religiosas arulas,
venerare acerbum caepe, mordax allium.
  fuliginosi ture placantur lares,
et respuuntur consecrata holuscula?
aut unde maior esse maiestas focis
quam nata in hortis sarculatis creditur?

---

[a] Proserpina (Persephone), daughter of Ceres (Demeter), carried off from Henna in Sicily by Dis (Pluto). Her mother searched the world for her. (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, V, 385 ff.)

[b] Hercules, whom story connected with the ancient city of Tiryns. Having become guilty of murder, he was by order of Jupiter sold to Omphale, Queen of Lydia, under whom he did women's work for a year.

maiden,[a] in search of whom her mother wanders all the night through? We see the Tirynthian [b] twirling spindles. Why, if not that he was the sport of a light-of-love? Or again, must I denounce those monstrous gods of the country-side, such as Faunus and Priapus or him who presides over the pipes,[c] nymphs who swim and live in the water, dwelling at the bottom of a deep pool like frogs, a divine authority seated in common seaweed? Is it these you call on me to worship, good censor? Can you, if you are in your sound senses, imagine any such thing to be holy? Does not derisive laughter shake your sides at the contemplation of these absurdities, the phantasies of tipsy old wives' dreams? Or if we must worship every false divinity in the world, be yourself the first to begin. Do reverence indiscriminately to everything that is held sacred on earth, Latin gods and Egyptian gods, those to whom Rome makes offerings and those to whom Canopus presents her petitions. You pray to Venus; pray also to the ape. You accept the hallowed serpent of Aesculapius;[d] why do you not accept crocodile and ibis and dog? Set up devout altars for leeks, worship the sharp onion, the pungent garlic.[e] Are your smoke-grimed[f] house-spirits propitiated with incense, and yet divine vegetables rejected? On what grounds are fire-places believed to have a majesty greater than that which grows in tilled gardens? If there is

[c] Pan.

[d] The Latinised name of the Greek god of healing, Asklepios, with whom the serpent was closely associated.

[e] See *Contra Symm.* II, 865–871.

[f] From the proximity of their images to the domestic fire-place.

si numen ollis, numen et porris inest.
  sed pulchra res est forma in aere sculptilis.
quid inprecabor officinis Graeciae,
quae condiderunt gentibus stultis deos?
forceps Myronis, malleus Polycliti
natura vestrum est atque origo caelitum.
  ars seminandis efficax erroribus,
barbam rigentem dum Iovis circumplicat,
dum defluentem leniter flectens comam
limat capillos et corymbos Liberi,
et dum Minervae pectus hydris asperat,
  iniecit atram territis formidinem,
ut fulmen aeris ceu Tonantis horreant,
tremant venenum sibilantis Gorgonae,
putent ephebum post triumphos Indicos
ferire thyrso posse, cum sit ebrius.
  tum quod Dianam molle succinctam vident,
venantis arcum pertimescunt virginis;
si forte vultum tristioris Herculis
liquore crispo massa finxit fusilis,
clavam minari, ni colatur, creditur.
  iam quis paventum corda terror occupat
Iunonis iram si polite expresserit?
velut retortis intuens obtutibus
avertat ora de litantis hostia,
lapis severa fronte mentitur minas.
  miror quod ipsum non sacrastis Mentorem,
nec templum et aras ipse Phidias habet,

---

[a] Greek sculptors of the 5th century B.C. Two celebrated works of Myron were his Quoit Thrower and his Cow, both in bronze. Polyclitus was famous for his statue of Hera (Juno) in ivory and gold.

[b] The Gorgon's head, with snakes for hair, being represented on the goddess's breastplate. Cf. *Aeneid*, VIII, 435–438.

a divinity in them, there is a divinity in leeks as well. But, you say, the graven image in bronze is a thing of beauty. What curse shall I call down on the studios of Greece, which have created gods for foolish nations? Myron's [a] tongs and Polyclitus' [a] hammer are the substance and source of your heaven-dwellers. Art has been effective in propagating superstitions. By curling Jupiter's stiff beard, by gently waving Liber's flowing locks and giving a smooth, finished look to his hair and ivy-berries, by making Minerva's breast bristle with snakes,[b] it affrighted men and inspired them with a grim terror so that they shudder at a bronze thunderbolt as if it belonged to the Thunderer, stand in dread of the hissing Gorgon's venom, and think a young man [c] coming from victories in India can strike them with his thyrsus, being drunken. And because they see Diana with her dress girt up for easy movement they are afraid of the huntress-maid's bow; or if it chance that the molten metal with its rippling flow has moulded the features of Hercules to look rather grim, he is believed to be menacing men with his club unless he be worshipped. Again, what terror seizes the hearts of shrinking men if it has made a finished, lifelike figure of an angry Juno! As if she were looking askance and turning her face from the victim offered by her worshipper, the stone with its stern visage counterfeits menaces. I wonder you pagans have not deified Mentor [d] himself and that Phidias [e]

[c] Dionysus (Liber). Cf. *Contra Symm.* I, 122 ff., II, 858.

[d] A Greek artist best known for his work in silver; cups from his hand were highly prized.

[e] A Greek sculptor of the age of Pericles. Statues of Athene in the Parthenon at Athens and of Zeus at Olympia, both in gold and ivory, were among his most famous works.

fabri deorum vel parentes numinum,
qui si caminis institissent segnius,
non esset ullus Iuppiter conflatilis.
non erubescis, stulte, pago dedite,
te tanta semper perdidisse obsonia
quae dis ineptus obtulisti talibus,
quos trulla, pelvis, cantharus, sartagines,
fracta et liquata contulerunt vascula?
ignosco fatuis haec tamen vulgaribus,
quos lana terret discolora in stipite,
quos saepe falsus circulator decipit,
quibus omne sanctum est, quod pavendum rancidae
edentularum cantilenae suaserint.
vos eruditos miror et doctos viros,
perpensa vitae quos gubernat regula,
nescire vel divina vel mortalia
quo iure constent, quanta maiestas regat
quidquid creatum est, quae creavit omnia.
Deus perennis, res inaestimabilis,
non cogitando, non videndo clauditur,
excedit omnem mentis humanae modum
nec conprehendi visibus nostris valet,
extraque et intus inplet ac superfluit.
intemporalis, ante quam primus dies,
esse et fuisse semper unus obtinet;
lux ipse vera, veri et auctor luminis,
cum lumen esset, lumen effudit suum:
ex luce fulgor natus hic est Filius.
vis una Patris, vis et una est Filii
unusque ab uno lumine splendor satus

himself has not temple and altars; for they are the manufacturers of gods, or the fathers of deities, and if they had applied themselves with less energy to their furnaces there would be no cast Jupiter. Do you not blush, foolish man, devoted to pagan worship, to think that you have always wasted all those victuals you have absurdly offered to gods like these, made out of an assemblage of ladles, basins, tankards, frying-pans, broken vessels melted down? After all, I can make allowance for these notions in the simpletons of the common herd; they are frightened at the sight of wool of different colours on a tree-stump,[a] and often taken in by a lying mountebank, and in their eyes everything is holy which the mawkish babblings of toothless hags have made them think fearful. But I wonder that educated, scholarly men like you, who are guided by a studied rule of life, do not know the authority on which rest things human and divine alike, or how great is the majesty which rules all created things and has itself created them all. The everlasting God is a being incomprehensible, not limited by our thought or sight. He passes all the bounds of human intelligence, He cannot be grasped by our eyes, all without and within He fills and more than fills. Existing timelessly, before the first day was, He alone maintains his being both now and forever in the past. He, who is himself the true light and the author of true light, being light, shed forth his light, and this brightness born of light is the Son. The potency of the Father and the potency of the Son are one; one splendour

[a] *Cf.* note on *Contra Symm.* II, 1006. We also hear of a pine-tree wound round with wool being taken in procession into the temple of the Magna Mater.

pleno refulsit claritatis numine.
natura simplex pollet unius Dei,
et quidquid usquam est una virtus condidit,
caelum solumque, vim marini gurgitis,
globos dierum noctiumque praesides,
ventos, procellas, fulgura, imbres, nubila,
septemtriones, Hesperos, aestus, nives,
fontes, pruinas et metalla et flumina,
praerupta, plana, montium convallia,
feras, volucres, reptiles, natatiles,
iumenta, pecua, subiugales, beluas,
flores, frutecta, germina, herbas, arbores,
quae sunt odori, quaeque vernant esui.
haec non labore et arte molitus Deus
sed iussione, quam potestas protulit,
mandavit esse; facta sunt quae non erant.
Verbo creavit omniformem machinam;
virtus paterna semper in Verbo fuit.
cognostis ipsum: nunc colendi agnoscite
ritum modumque, quale sit templi genus,
quae dedicari sanxerit donaria,
quae vota poscat, quos sacerdotes velit,
quod mandet illic nectar inmolarier.
aedem sibi ipse mente in hominis condidit
vivam, serenam, sensualem, flabilem,
solvi incapacem posse, nec destructilem,
pulchram, venustam, praeminentem culmine,
discriminatis inlitam coloribus.
illic sacerdos stat sacrato in limine,
foresque primas virgo custodit Fides
innexa crines vinculis regalibus;
poscit litari victimas Christo et Patri
quas scit placere, candidatas, simplices:
frontis pudorem, cordis innocentiam,

born of one light shone forth from a Godhead which is all brightness. God is one and his mighty being is single, and all that exists everywhere was created by one power,—heaven and earth, the mighty deep of the sea, the globes that preside over day and night, winds, tempests, lightnings, rain and clouds, the stars of the Wain, the evening star, heat and snow, springs, frosts, lodes of ore, rivers, places steep and level, mountain glens, wild beasts, creatures that fly or crawl or swim, beasts of burden, cattle, animals that bear the yoke, monstrous beasts, flowers, bushes, shoots, plants, trees, that give their scent or grow for food. All these by no effort of labour or skill but by command which issued from his power God ordered to be. What did not exist before was created; by the Word He created the fabric of the world in its manifold shapes, and the Father's power was ever present in the Word. You have heard what He is; learn now the way and manner of worshipping Him, the nature of his temple, the gifts He has ordained to be dedicated to Him, the prayers He calls for, the priests He would have, the sweet savour He commands to be sacrificed to Him there. A temple He has established for himself in the soul of man, one that is living, clear, perceptive, spiritual, incapable of dissolution or destruction, beautiful, graceful, high-topped, coloured with different hues. There stands the priestess in the sacred doorway; the virgin Faith guards the first entrance, her hair bound with queenly ties, and calls for sacrifices to be offered to Christ and the Father which are pure and sincere, such as she knows are acceptable to them,—a modest bearing,

pacis quietem, castitatem corporis,
Dei timorem, regulam scientiae,
ieiuniorum parcitatem sobriam,
spem non iacentem, semper et largam manum.
ex his amoenus hostiis surgit vapor
vincens odorem balsami, turis, croci,
auras madentes Persicorum aromatum.
sublatus inde caelum adusque tollitur
et prosperatum dulce delectat Deum.
hanc disciplinam quisquis infensus vetat,
vetat probatum vivere et sanctum sequi,
vetat vigorem mentis alte intendere,
nostrique acumen ignis ad terram vocat,
nec excitari vim sinit prudentiae.
o mersa limo caecitas gentilium!
o carnulenta nationum pectora!
o spissus error! o tenebrosum genus
terris amicum, deditum cadaveri,
subiecta semper intuens, numquam supra!
furorne summus ultima et dementia est
deos putare, qui creantur nuptiis,
rem spiritalem terrulente quaerere,
elementa mundi consecrare altaribus,
id quod creatum est conditorem credere,
deasceato supplicare stipiti,
verris cruore scripta saxa spargere,
aras ofellis obsecrare bubulis,
homines fuisse cum scias, quos consecras,
urnas reorum morticinas lambere?
desiste, iudex saeculi, tantum nefas
viris iubere fortibusque et liberis.
nil est amore veritatis celsius.
Dei perennis nomen adserentibus
nihil pavori est, mors et ipsa subiacet."

an innocent heart, unruffled peace, chastity of body, the fear of God which is the measure of knowledge, sober abstinence in fastings, hope ever erect, a hand ever generous. From these offerings arises a pleasing steam which surpasses the scent of balsam or incense or saffron or air drenched in eastern perfumes. It mounts from them and is carried right to heaven, where it wins favour with God and gives Him sweet delight. Whosoever is an enemy to this teaching and forbids it, forbids the good life and the pursuit of holiness, forbids us to direct the soul's activity on high, and calls our subtle fire to earth, not allowing the force of wisdom to be awakened. How blind and sunk in the mire are the pagans! How fleshly the hearts of the heathen! How dense their error! How darkened is the race that loves the earth and devotes itself to the dead body, with eyes ever on things below, never above! Is it not the height of unreason, the last degree of folly, to think that creatures born of marriages are gods, to seek for a spiritual being after the manner of earth, to dedicate the world's elements on the altar and believe that what has been created is the creator, to pray to a hewn tree-trunk, to bespatter inscribed stones with the blood of a hog and make request of altars with scraps of beef, and when you know that the beings you deify were mortals, to caress the urns that hold the dead ashes of guilty men? Cease, thou judge of this world, to impose wickedness so great on men who are brave and free. There is nought loftier than the love of truth. Those who maintain the name of the everlasting God have nothing to make them afraid, even death itself is under their feet."

dudum coquebat disserente martyre
Asclepiades intus iram subdolam
stomachatus alto felle, dum longum silet
bilemque tectis concipit praecordiis;
tandem latentis vim furoris evomit:
" pro Iuppiter! quid est quod ex hoc audio?
stat inter aras et deorum imagines
et, quod fateri cogor, in medio foro
tacente memet, ac perorat perditus,
quidquid sacrorum est ore foedans inpio.
o fas priorum! moris o prisci status!
inventa regum pro salute publica
Pompiliorum nostra carpunt saecula.
quis hos sophistas error invexit novus,
qui non colendos esse divos disputent?
nunc dogma nobis Christianum nascitur
post evolutos mille demum consules
ab urbe Roma, ne retexam Nestoras.
quidquid novellum surgit, olim non fuit.
vis summa rerum nosse? Pyrrham consule.
ubi iste vester tunc erat summus Deus,
divum favore cum puer Mavortius
fundaret arcem septicollem Romulus?
quod Roma pollet auspicato condita,
Iovi Statori debet et dis ceteris.
hoc sanctum ab aevo est, hoc ab atavis tradi-
tum:

---

[a] Numa Pompilius. See note on *Contra Symm.* II, 47.

[b] *I.e.* to the Homeric heroes.

[c] In the Greek story (*cf.* Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, I, 260 ff.) she and her husband Deucalion were the sole survivors of the great flood sent by Zeus. Being divinely instructed to throw "the bones of their great mother" behind them, they took this to mean stones, the bones of Mother Earth,

While the martyr was discoursing, Asclepiades had long been privily nursing wrath within him, for he was fuming and his ire was deep while he kept this long silence and displeasure was rising secretly in his heart. At last he discharged the violence of the rage he had been cloaking: "Jupiter! What is it that I hear from this fellow? He stands amid the altars and statues of the gods in the middle of the court while, as I must needs confess, I keep silence, and delivers a harangue like the wretch he is, befouling all that is sacred with his impious mouth. Alas for what was held right in our forefathers' times, the established usages of olden days! Our generation reviles the institutions devised by kings like Numa [a] for the welfare of the state. What modern error has brought in these sophists to argue that we must not worship the gods? It is only now that we have the Christian doctrine arising, after a thousand years have rolled since the city of Rome began, not to go back to Nestor [b] and his times. Whatever the novelty is that now springs up, it did not exist in former days. If you would know the ultimate source of things, ask Pyrrha.[c] Where was this supreme God of yours when under divine favour Mars' boy Romulus was establishing the stronghold of the seven hills? Rome owes her auspicious foundation and her power to Jupiter the Stayer [d] and the other gods. This has been ordained since time began, this is the tradition of our forefathers,

and the stones they threw turned into men and women, thus restarting the human race.

[d] Tradition said that Romulus vowed a temple to Jupiter with this title for staying the flight of the Romans before the Sabines (Livy, I, 12).

placanda nobis pro triumphis principis
delubra, faustus ut secundet gloriam
procinctus, utque subiugatis hostibus
ductor quietum frenet orbem legibus.
accingere ergo, quisquis es, nequissime,
pro principali rite nobiscum deos
orare vita vel, quod hostem publicum
pati necesse est, solve poenam sanguine.
sprevisse templa respuisse est principem."
tunc ille: " numquam pro salute et maximis
fortissimisque principis cohortibus
aliter precabor quam fidele ut militent
Christique lymphis ut renascantur Patri,
capiant et ipsum caelitus Paraclitum,
ut idolorum respuant caliginem,
cernant ut illud lumen aeternae spei
non suculentis influens obtutibus
nec corporales per fenestras emicans,
puris sed intus quod relucet mentibus.
pupilla carnis crassa crassum perspicit,
et res caduca quod resolvendum est videt:
liquidis videndis aptus est animae liquor;
natura fervens sola ferventissimae
divinitatis vim coruscantem capit.
hoc opto lumen imperator noverit
tuus meusque, si velit fieri meus;
nam si resistit Christiano nomini,
meus ille talis imperator non erit:
scelus iubenti, crede, numquam serviam."
" statis, ministri? " clamitans iudex ait,
" statis manusque continetis vindices?
non rupta sulcis dissecatis viscera,

that we must make propitiation at the shrines to secure triumphs for the emperor, so that his battle-array may be blessed and prosper his glory, and that when his enemies are subdued he may govern with his laws a peaceful world of which he is the head. Make ready then, villain, whoever you are, to pray to the gods in due form along with us for the emperor's life; or else pay the penalty with your blood, as must needs be done to an enemy of the state. To reject the temples is to cast off the emperor."

Then said Romanus: "Never shall I pray for the emperor's well-being or for his great and brave regiments but that they may be faithful soldiers and in the water of Christ be born again for the Father and receive from heaven the Comforter himself, that they may cast off the darkness of idolatry and see the light of eternal hope which does not flow into the humours of the eyes gleaming through the windows of the body, but shines in pure hearts within. The fleshly pupil, being gross, perceives that which is gross; being mortal, it sees that which must pass away; it is the spiritual nature of the soul that is fitted to see spiritual things, it is only the glowing substance that takes in the flashing energy of the bright-glowing godhead. This light I desire that the emperor may come to know,—your emperor and mine also if he care to become mine; for if he resists the Christian name, such an emperor as that will never be mine; I assure you I shall never obey one who commands a sin."

"Do you stand still, officers?" cries the judge with a loud voice; "do you stand still and hold back your avenging hands? Do you not rive his flesh and slash it in pieces, and tear out the life en-

animam nec intus abditam rimamini,
erumpit unde vox profana in principem?"
scindunt utrumque milites taeterrimi
mucrone hiulco pensilis latus viri,
sulcant per artus longa tractim vulnera,
obliqua rectis, recta transversis secant,
et iam retectis pectus albet ossibus.
nitendo anhelant, diffluunt sudoribus,
cum sit quietus heros in quem saeviunt.
haec inter addit sponte Romanus loqui:
"si quaeris, o praefecte, verum noscere,
hoc omne, quidquid lancinamur, non dolet.
dolet quod error pectori insedit tuo,
populos quod istos perditos [1] tecum trahis.
currunt frequentes undique ad spectaculum,
gentile vulgus, heu, gemenda corpora,
crudumque nostrae sortis exemplum tremunt.
audite cuncti: clamo longe ac praedico,
emitto vocem de catasta celsior:
Christus paternae gloriae splendor, Deus,
rerum creator, noster idem particeps
spondet salutem perpetem credentibus,
animae salutem, sola quae non occidit
sed iuge durans dispares casus subit;
aut luce fulget aut tenebris mergitur;
Christum secuta Patris intrat gloriam,
disiuncta Christo mancipatur Tartaro.
curanda mercis qualitas, quaenam mihi
contingat olim perpetis substantiae;
nam membra parvi pendo quo pacto cadant,
casura certe lege naturae suae.
instat ruina; quod resolvendum est, ruat.
nec distat, ignis et fidiculae saeviant,

[1] perditus *BN*, perditum *V*.

sconced within, from which breaks forth this impious speech against the emperor?" The foul soldiers cut both his sides with gashing sword as he hangs, ploughing wounds in long lines over his body and making criss-cross cuts, till his breast shows white where the bones are laid bare. They are panting with their efforts and running with sweat, while the martyr on whom they vent their cruelty is calm. And amid it all Romanus even speaks of his own motion, saying, "If you seek, sir, to learn the truth, all this mangling that is done to me is painless. What pains me is the superstition seated in your breast, and that you are dragging these lost multitudes with you. They come running in crowds from every point to see the sight, a pagan throng of people who move me to grief and woe, and tremble at the bloody warning of what befalls me. Hear ye all! I cry afar and proclaim. I send forth my voice from the rack which raises me above you. Christ the brightness of the Father's glory, who is God, creator of the world and partaker with us also, promises eternal salvation to those who believe, the salvation of the soul, which alone does not perish but endures for ever and undergoes fortunes that differ: it either shines with light or is sunk in darkness; if it has followed Christ, it enters into the Father's glory, but if it has separated itself from Christ it is delivered up to hell. I must be concerned about the kind of reward that will one day fall to me,—the reward that belongs to my eternal being, for I care little how the body dies, since it is to die at any rate by the law of its own nature; destruction dogs it; let what *must* be dissolved be destroyed. It matters not whether it is fire and cords that vent

an corpus aegrum languor asper torqueat,
cum saepe morbos maior armet saevitas.[1]
non ungularum tanta vis latus fodit
mucrone quanto dira pulsat pleurisis,
  nec sic inusta lamminis ardet cutis,
ut febris atro felle venas exedit
vel summa pellis ignis obductus coquit
papulasque fervor aestuosus excitat:
credas cremari stridulis cauteribus.
  miserum putatis, quod retortis pendeo
extentus ulnis, quod revelluntur pedes,
conpago nervis quod sonat crepantibus:
sic eiulantes ossa clamant dividi,
nodosa torquet quos podagra et artrisis.
  horretis omnes hasce carnificum manus.
num mitiores sunt manus medentium,
laniena quando saevit Hippocratica?
vivum secatur viscus et recens cruor
scalpella tinguit dum putredo abraditur.
  putate ferrum triste chirurgos meis
inferre costis, quod secat salubriter.
non est amarum quo reformatur salus:
videntur isti carpere artus tabidos,
sed dant medellam rebus intus vividis.
  quis nescit autem quanta corruptela sit
contaminatae carnis ac solubilis?
sordet, tumescit, liquitur, foetet, dolet,
inflatur ira, solvitur libidine,
plerumque felle tincta livores trahit.

[1] *Bergman's MSS. have* saevitia, *which he keeps, but it is most unlikely that Prudentius ended an iambic trimeter in this way.*

their fury, or a cruel weakness that racks the sick body, for many a time diseases are armed with a worse fury. The violence of the claws digging into one's side is less than the piercing pain with which the dire disease of the lungs assaults it. The skin when it is branded with the metal plates does not burn as hot as the fever that consumes the veins with its black gall, or the fire that spreads over the surface of the skin and roasts it, while the raging inflammation raises pustules and it is like being burned with hissing irons. You think it a wretched fate that I am hanging here stretched out, with my arms twisted behind me, that my feet are being pulled away from me and my joints make noises as the tendons crack; but it is just the same when men cry out in distress that their bones are being torn asunder because knotty gout or arthritis tortures them. You all shudder at this handiwork of the executioners; but are doctors' hands gentler, when Hippocrates'[a] cruel butchery is going on? The living flesh is cut and fresh-drawn blood stains the lancets when festering matter is being scraped away. Fancy that the surgeons are putting the grim knife to my ribs and it is cutting me for the good of my health; that by which health is restored is not vexatious. These men appear to be rending my wasting limbs, but they give healing to the living substance within. And who does not know how great is the corruption of the impure mortal flesh? It is filthy, it swells up, it runs, it stinks, it hurts, it is puffed up with anger, or unbridled in desire, often it is stained with gall and takes on dark-coloured spots.

[a] The great Greek physician who lived in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.

aurum regestum nonne carni adquiritur?
inlusa vestis, gemma, bombyx, purpura
in carnis usum mille quaeruntur dolis,
luxus vorandi carnis arvinam fovet,
carnis voluptas omne per nefas ruit.
medere, quaeso, carnifex, tantis malis,
concide, carpe fomitem peccaminum,
fac ut resecto debilis carnis situ
dolore ab omni mens supersit libera
nec gestet ultra quod tyrannus amputet.
nec terrearis turba circumstantium:
hoc perdo solum quod peribit omnibus,
regi, clienti, pauperique et diviti;
sic vernularum, sic senatorum caro
tabescit imo cum sepulcro condita est.
iactura vilis mordet et damnum leve
si, quo carendum est, perdere extimescimus:
cur, quod necesse est, non voluntas occupat?
natura cur non vertit in rem gloriae?
legale damnum deputemus praemiis.
sed praemiorum forma quae sit fortibus
videamus, illa nempe quae numquam perit.
caelo refusus subvolabit spiritus,
Dei parentis perfruetur lumine
regnante Christo stans in arce regia.
quandoque caelum ceu liber plicabitur,
cadet rotati solis in terram globus,
spheram ruina menstrualem destruet;
Deus superstes solus et iusti simul

[a] *Cf.* Isaiah xxxiv, 4, Revelation vi, 13–14. The allusion is to the ancient form of book, to which the term *volumen* properly applies, the long roll of papyrus on which the writing was in columns perpendicular to the length. The reader unrolled it with one hand and rolled it up with the other as

Is not the gold that men pile up got for the flesh? Garments fancifully embroidered, jewels, silk, purple, are sought after by a thousand artifices for the enjoyment of the flesh, indulgence in eating fosters the fatness of the flesh, and the pleasure of the flesh runs through the whole gamut of wickedness. Apply healing treatment to these great ills, I pray you, executioner. Cut up and rend that which is the prompter of sin. By cutting away the filthiness of the weakly flesh, bring about the survival of the spirit, free from all pain and wearing no longer anything for the oppressor to lop off. And have no fear, ye that stand round in your numbers. I only lose what all will lose, lord and vassal, poor and rich alike. In the same manner does the flesh of slaves and senators waste away when it is laid deep in the grave. It is a cheap sacrifice, a slight loss, which only galls us if we fear to lose that which we *must* part with. Why does not our will forestall necessity, and the order of nature turn into the substance of glory? Let us account as a prize the loss which the law imposes. But let us see the shape of the prize which comes to the steadfast, one certainly which never perishes. The spirit, being restored to heaven, will fly upwards and enjoy the light of God the Father, standing in the royal court where Christ is king. One day the heavens will be rolled up like a book,[a] the whirling sun's globe will fall upon the earth, the sphere that rules the months will be broken up in destruction, and God alone together with the righteous will be

he went on, so that when it is "rolled up" he has finished it. By the time of Prudentius the *codex*, the form of book which we now call a "volume", had come into fashion, and in the case of Christian books was predominant.

cum sempiternis permanebunt angelis.
  contemne praesens utile, o prudens homo,
quod terminandum, quod relinquendum est tibi;
omitte corpus, rem sepulcri et funeris;
tende ad futuram gloriam, perge ad Deum;
agnosce qui sis, vince mundum et saeculum."
  vixdum elocutus martyr hanc peregerat
orationem, cum furens interserit
Asclepiades: " vertat ictum carnifex
in os loquentis, inque maxillas manum
sulcosque acutos et fidiculas transferat.
  verbositatis ipse rumpatur locus,
scaturrientes perdat ut loquacitas
sermonis auras perforatis follibus,
quibus sonandi nulla lex ponit modum;
ipsa et loquentis verba torqueri volo."
  inplet iubentis dicta lictor inpius;
charaxat ambas ungulis scribentibus
genas, cruentis et secat faciem notis,
hirsuta barbis solvitur carptim cutis,
et mentum adusque vultus omnis scinditur.
  martyr fluentem fatur inter sanguinem:
" grates tibi, o praefecte, magnas debeo,
quod multa pandens ora iam Christum loquor.
artabat ampli nominis praeconium
meatus unus, inpar ad laudes Dei.
  rimas patentes invenit vox edita
multisque fusa rictibus reddit sonos
hinc inde plures, et profatur undique
Christi Patrisque sempiternam gloriam.
tot ecce laudant ora quot sunt vulnera."
  tali repressus cognitor constantia
cessare poenam praecipit, tunc sic ait:
" per solis ignes iuro, qui nostros dies

left enduring, in company with the everlasting angels. Scorn the advantage of this present life, O wise man; it must come to an end, and you must leave it behind. Let the body go, for it belongs to burial in the grave. Set your course for the glory that shall be, go on towards God. Recognise what you are and overcome the world and the present order."

Scarcely had the martyr come to the end of this address when Asclepiades in a furious rage broke in: "Let the executioner turn the stroke on to his mouth and stop his speech, to his jaws transfer hands and sharp cuts and cords. Shatter the seat of his verbosity, puncture the bellows so that his loquacity may lose the gushing winds of words, since no law puts a stop to their sounding. I will have the very words tortured even as he speaks." The unholy lictor fulfils the word of command. Both cheeks he scores with lines drawn with the claws, tracing bleeding cuts on the face; the bristly bearded skin is torn in pieces and the whole countenance cleft down to the chin. The martyr speaks as his blood flows: "Much thanks I owe you, sir, because now I open many mouths to speak of Christ. The single passage used to restrict the publishing of his mighty name; it was too little for the praises of God. But now the voice I utter finds open fissures; issuing by many a wide-open mouth, it delivers more sounds on this side and on that, all ways proclaiming the everlasting glory of Christ and the Father. For every wound I have, you see a mouth uttering praise." Checked by such firmness of spirit, the judge orders that the torture rest and then speaks thus: "I swear by the fires of the sun which by the interchanges of its

reciprocatis administrat circulis,
cuius recursu lux et annus ducitur,
  ignes parandos iam tibi tristis rogi,
qui fine digno corpus istud devorent,
quod perseverans tam resistit nequiter
sacris vetustis, nec dolorum spiculis
victum fatiscit, fitque poenis fortius.
  quis hunc rigorem pectori iniecit stupor?
mens obstinata est, corpus omne obcalluit,
tantus novelli dogmatis regnat furor:
hic nempe vester Christus haud olim fuit,
quem tu fateris ipse suffixum cruci."
  " haec illa crux est omnium nostrum salus,"
Romanus inquit: " hominis haec redemptio est.
scio incapacem te sacramenti, inpie,
non posse caecis sensibus mysterium
haurire nostrum: nil diurnum nox capit.
  tamen in tenebris proferam claram facem.
sanus videbit, lippus oculos obteget.
' removete lumen,' dicet insanabilis;
' iniuriosa est nil videnti claritas.'
audi, profane, quod gravatus oderis.
  regem perennem rex perennis protulit
in se manentem nec minorem tempore,
quia tempus illum non tenet; nam fons retro
exordiorum est et dierum et temporum,
ex Patre Christus: hoc Pater, quod Filius.
  hic se videndum praestitit mortalibus,
mortale corpus sumpsit inmortalitas,
ut, dum caducum portat aeternus Deus,
transire nostrum posset ad caelestia:

circles governs our days and by its returning draws out the course of the light and the year, that the fires of the grim pyre shall now be made ready for you to devour your body in the death it deserves, since with such wicked obstinacy it opposes the old established rites and does not give way in defeat under the sharp pricks of pain, but grows bolder through its sufferings. What insensibility has put this unbending spirit in your heart? Your mind is stubborn and your whole body hardened against feeling; so fanatical is the ruling spirit of this modern doctrine—for certainly this Christ of yours lived not long since, and you yourself admit that *he* was nailed on a cross." "It is that cross which is the salvation of us all," answers Romanus; "it is man's redemption. I know that you, godless man, cannot grasp the mystery; because your understanding is blind you cannot imbibe our mystic doctrine; the night is not receptive of anything that belongs to the day. Yet in the darkness I shall hold out a bright torch and he that is sound will see, while the purblind will cover his eyes. 'Take the light away,' he who is past healing will say; 'the brightness is harmful to one who cannot see.' Listen, heathen, to that which you find objectionable and hateful. The king everlasting put forth the king everlasting, who abides in Him and is not younger in time, since time does not bound Him; for He is the ultimate source of all beginnings and days and times, Christ born of the Father; and the Father is what the Son is. The Son manifested himself to be seen by mortal men, immortality putting on a mortal body, so that through the eternal God wearing a body subject to death ours should be enabled to pass to the heavens;

homo est peremptus et resurrexit Deus.
congressa mors est membra gestanti Deo;
dum nostra temptat, cessit inmortalibus.
stultum putatis hoc, sophistae saeculi;
sed stulta mundi summus elegit Pater,
ut stultus esset saeculi prudens Dei.
antiquitatem Romuli et Mavortiam
lupam renarras, primum et omen vulturum.
si res novellas respuis, nil tam recens:
vix mille fastis inplet hanc aetatulam
cursus dierum conditore ab augure.
sescenta possum regna pridem condita
proferre toto in orbe, si sit otium,
multo ante clara quam capellam Gnosiam
suxisse fertur Iuppiter, Martis pater.
sed illa non sunt, haec et olim non erunt.
crux ista Christi, quam novellam dicitis,
nascente mundo factus ut primum est homo,
expressa signis, expedita est litteris:
adventus eius mille per miracula
praenuntiatus ore vatum consono.
reges, prophetae, iudicesque et principes
virtute, bellis, cultibus, sacris, stilo
non destiterunt pingere formam crucis.
crux praenotata, crux adumbrata est prius,

[a] Which according to the legend nursed the infant Romulus and Remus when the basket in which they had been abandoned on the Tiber was washed ashore.

[b] The augury of the twelve vultures which appeared to Romulus, against the six which appeared to Remus, showing the will of the gods that Romulus should be the king of the new city.

the man was put to death and the God rose again. Death contended with God while He wore the body, but in attacking what belongs to us it retired before that which is immortal. You think this foolishness, you wise men of the world, but the supreme Father chose the foolish things of the world so that he who is foolish in respect of the world might be wise in the knowledge of God. You repeat the tale of ancient days about Romulus and Mars' she-wolf [a] and the first omen of the vultures; [b] but if you reject events of modern times, there is nothing so recent as these. With scarce a thousand years the course of time fills up this short period from the augur who was our founder. I could tell you, if I had time, of plenty of kingdoms long ago established throughout the world, that were famous long before Jupiter, the *father* of Mars, was suckled, as they tell, by the Gnosian she-goat.[c] But they are gone, and one day this present realm too will have gone. This cross of Christ which you call modern, when at the world's birth man was first created, was clearly shown by signs [d] and set forth in writings, and his coming was foretold through a thousand wonders by the mouth of prophets all in harmony. Kings, prophets, judges and rulers by their prowess and wars, their rites and offerings and their pen, did not cease to depict the form of the cross; the cross was predicted, the cross was prefigured, those olden times absorbed

[c] In Crete (*cf.* note on *Contra Symm.* II, 492) the infant Jupiter was fed by the she-goat Amaltheia (Callimachus, *Hymn* I, 47–48). Another form of the story makes Amaltheia a nymph who fed him with goat's milk (*cf.* Ovid, *Fasti*, V, 115 ff.).

[d] *Cf.* for instance, the interpretation of the number 318 in the preface to the *Psychomachia*.

crucem vetusta conbiberunt saecula.
tandem retectis vocibus propheticis
aetate nostra conprobata antiquitas
coram refulsit ore conspicabili,
ne fluctuaret veritas dubia fide,
si non pateret teste visu comminus.
hinc nos et ipsum non perire credimus
corpus, sepulcro quod vorandum traditur,
quia Christus in se mortuum corpus cruci
secum excitatum vexit ad solium Patris,
viamque cunctis ad resurgendum dedit.
crux illa nostra est, nos patibulum ascendimus,
nobis peremptus Christus et nobis Deus
Christus reversus, ipse qui moriens homo est,
natura duplex: moritur et mortem domat,
reditque in illud quod perire nesciat.
dixisse pauca sit satis de mysticis
nostrae salutis deque processu spei.
iam iam silebo: margaritas spargere
Christi vetamur inter inmundos sues,
lutulenta sanctum ne terant animalia.
sed quia profunda non licet luctarier
ratione tecum, consulamus proxima:
interrogetur ipsa naturalium
simplex sine arte sensuum sententia:
fuci inperitus fac ut adsit arbiter.
da septuennem circiter puerum aut minus,
qui sit favoris liber et non oderit
quemquam nec ullum mentis in vitium cadat.
periclitemur quid recens infantia
dicat sequendum, quid novus sapiat vigor."
hanc ille sancti martyris vocem libens
amplexus unum de caterva infantium
parvum nec olim lacte depulsum capi

the idea of the cross. At last the words of the prophets were made plain and in our time antiquity was justified, shining before our eyes from a visible countenance, so that truth should not be uncertain and its reliability in doubt through not being disclosed face to face, with the testimony of sight. The reason why we believe that even the body, though it is given up to be swallowed by the grave, does not perish, is that Christ raised up the body which died in Him on the cross and carried it with Him to the Father's throne, opening a way for all to rise again. That cross is ours, *we* mount the gibbet; for *us* Christ was put to death and for *us* Christ returned as God, He who in dying is man, a two-fold being; He dies and conquers death, and He returns to that which cannot die. Let these few words suffice about the mysteries of our salvation and the advancement of our hope. This moment I shall be silent; we are forbidden to scatter Christ's pearls among unclean swine, lest the miry beasts trample on that which is holy. But since I may not contend with you with deep reasoning, let us appeal to what lies at hand; let us inquire of the verdict of the natural understanding, which is straight-forward and artless; let us have one to judge between us who knows no guile. Give me a boy of about seven years, or less, who will be free from favour or disfavour towards either, and not subject to any vitiated judgment. Let us see by experiment what young childhood says we should follow, what is the thought of the strong young mind."

Asclepiades, readily adopting the holy martyr's proposal, ordered a little one not long weaned to be picked from the band of children and then

captumque adesse praecipit. " quidvis roga,"
inquit, " sequamur quod probarit pusio."
Romanus ardens experiri innoxiam
lactantis oris indolem " filiole," ait,
" dic, quid videtur esse verum et congruens,
unumne Christum colere et in Christo Patrem,
an conprecari mille formarum deos? "
adrisit infans nec moratus rettulit:
" est quidquid illud, quod ferunt homines Deum,
unum esse oportet et quod uni est unicum.
cum Christus hoc sit, Christus est verus Deus.
genera deorum multa nec pueri putant."
stupuit tyrannus sub pudore fluctuans;
nec vim decebat innocenti aetatulae
inferre leges, nec loquenti talia
furor sinebat efferatus parcere.
" quis auctor," inquit, " vocis est huius tibi? "
respondit ille: " mater, et matri Deus.
illa ex parente Spiritu docta inbibit
quo me inter ipsa pasceret cunabula;
ego, ut gemellis uberum de fontibus
lac parvus hausi, Christum et hausi credere."
" ergo ipsa mater adsit," exclamat, " cedo,"
Asclepiades; " disciplinae et exitum
tristem suae magistra spectet inpia,
male eruditi torqueatur funere
infantis orba, quemque corrupit fleat.
absit ministros vilis ut muliercula
nostros fatiget: quantulus autem dolor
vexabit artus mortis auxilio brevis!
oculi parentis punientur acrius
quam si cruentae membra carpant ungulae."
vix haec profatus pusionem praecipit

[a] Cf. *Hamart.*, 37–39.

brought forward. "Ask him anything you please," he said; "Let us conform to what the boy approves." Romanus, desiring strongly to make trial of the innocent suckling's native thought, said to him: "My little son, tell me, which do you think reasonable and fitting,—to worship the one Christ and in Christ the Father, or to pray to gods in a thousand shapes?" The babe smiled and without hesitation answered: "Whatever it is that men call God must be one with the one only which belongs to the one.[a] Since this is what Christ is, Christ is the true God; even children do not suppose there are many sorts of gods." The oppressor was confounded and wavering between two courses in his shame; it was not fitting that the law should lay violent hands on such innocent and tender years, but his wild rage would not let him spare one who spoke such words. "Who taught you," he asked, "to speak like this?" And the boy answered: "My mother, and God taught her. Instructed by the Spirit she drew from the Father that wherewith to feed me in my very infancy, and I in drinking as a babe the milk from the twin founts of her breasts drank in also the belief in Christ." "Then let the mother too come forward. Fetch her," cries Asclepiades. "Let the unnatural teacher look on at the melancholy outcome of her training. Let her be tortured by seeing the death of the ill-taught child she loses, and weep for the boy she has corrupted. Our officers must not spend their strength on a mere trumpery woman; and the pain that distresses his body will be but little, for death will shorten it, but the mother's eyes will suffer a sharper penalty than if the bloody claws plucked at her frame." No sooner said than he gave the word to

sublime tollant et manu pulsent nates,
mox et remota veste virgis verberent
tenerumque duris ictibus tergum secent,
plus unde lactis quam cruoris defluat.
quae cautis illud perpeti spectaculum,
quis ferre possit aeris aut ferri rigor?
inpacta quotiens corpus attigerat salix,
tenui rubebant sanguine uda vimina,
quem plaga flerat roscidis livoribus.
ferunt minaces verberantium genas
inlacrimasse sponte dimanantibus
guttis per ora barbarum frementia,
scribas et ipsos et coronam plebium
proceresque siccis non stetisse visibus.
at sola mater hisce lamentis caret,
soli sereno frons renidet gaudio;
stat in piorum corde pietas fortior
amore Christi contumax doloribus
firmatque sensum mollis indulgentiae.
sitire sese parvus exclamaverat:
animae aestuantis ardor in cruciatibus
hoc exigebat, lymphae ut haustum posceret:
quem torva mater eminus triste intuens
vultu et severis vocibus sic increpat:
" puto inbecillo, nate, turbaris metu
et te doloris horror adflictum domat.
non hanc meorum viscerum stirpem fore
Deo spopondi, non in hanc spem gloriae
te procreavi, cedere ut leto scias.
aquam bibendam postulas, cum sit tibi
fons ille vivus praesto, qui semper fluit
et cuncta solus inrigat viventia,
intus forisque spiritum et corpus simul,
aeternitatem largiens potantibus.

lift the boy high up and slap his buttocks with their hands, then to take off his clothes and beat him with the switch, cutting his tender back with cruel strokes which were to draw from it more milk than blood. What rock could endure the sight, what unyielding brass or iron bear it? At every stroke of the willow on his body the twigs were damp and red with the thin blood, which the stripe drew in showers from the dripping weals. They tell that the menacing cheeks of the men who were lashing him were wet with tears, for the drops flowed unbidden over their lips amid their savage growling, and there were no dry eyes even among the recorders and the ring of people and the chief men standing there. Only the mother showed none of this sorrowing, her brow alone was bright and clear with joy, for in the heart of the pious piety is the stronger force and from the love of Christ stands firm and unyielding in the face of pain, fortifying the emotion of tender fondness. The child cried out that he was thirsty, for the heat of his burning breath as the tortures went on compelled him to call for a draught of water; but his stern mother, looking at him severely from her place apart, chid him with austere words: " I suppose, my son, you are upset by a weak fear and the dread of the pain casts you down and overcomes you. This is not what I promised God the child of my body would be, this is not the hope of glory for which I bore you, that you should be able to retreat before death! You ask for water to drink, though you have near by the living spring which ever flows and alone waters all that has life, within and without, spirit and body both, bestowing immortality on those who drink.

venies ad illud mox fluentum, si modo
animo ac medullis solus ardor aestuet
videre Christum, quod semel potum adfatim
sic sedat omnem pectoris flagrantiam
vita ut beata iam sitire nesciat.
hic, hic bibendus, nate, nunc tibi est calix,
mille in Bethleem quem biberunt parvuli:
oblita lactis et papillarum inmemor
aetas amaris, mox deinde dulcibus
refecta poclis mella sumpsit sanguinis.
exemplum ad istud nitere, o fortis puer,
generosa prolis, matris et potentia.
omnes capaces esse virtutum Pater
mandavit annos, neminem excepit diem,
ipsis triumphos adnuens vagitibus.
scis, saepe dixi, cum docenti adluderes
et garrulorum signa verborum dares,
Isaac fuisse parvulum patri unicum,
qui, cum inmolandus aram et ensem cerneret,
ultro sacranti colla praebuerit seni.
narravi et illud nobile ac memorabile
certamen, una matre quod septem editi
gessere pueri, sed tamen factis viri,
hortante eadem matre in ancipiti exitu
poenae et coronae sanguini ut ne parcerent.
videbat ipsos apparatus funerum
praesens suorum nec movebatur parens
laetata quotiens aut olivo stridula
sartago frixum torruisset puberem
dira aut cremasset lamminarum inpressio.
comam cutemque verticis revulserat
a fronte tortor, nuda testa ut tegmine
cervicem adusque dehonestaret caput;

[a] II Maccabees vii. Cf. *Perist.* v, 523 ff.

You will soon reach that stream if only in your heart and inmost being your one eager, ardent longing is to see Christ, and one draught of it is ample to allay all the burning of the breast so that the blessed life can no longer thirst. This, this, my son, is the cup you now must drink. A thousand little ones in Bethlehem drank of it; forgetting their milk, with no thought of the breast, their life was restored by bitter cups that turned to sweet, partaking of blood that was changed into honey. Strive after this example, my brave boy, my noble child, your mother's greatness. The Father has ordained that all ages should be capable of courageous deeds, no time of life excepted, for He grants triumphs even to infancy. You know, for I have often told you, when you used to turn my lessons into play and prattle sounds that stood for words, that Isaac was a little boy, his father's only child, and how, when he was to be sacrificed and saw the altar and the sword, of his own will he stretched out his neck to the old man who was making the offering. I have told you too of that famous and notable contest carried on by the seven sons of one mother [a]—lads they were, but grown men in their deeds,—when, though they faced a desperate issue, this same mother urged them not to spare the blood that was shed in suffering to win the crown. Their mother saw unmoved before her eyes the very instruments ready for the death of her sons, and was glad when the pan with its hissing oil fried and scorched one of her lads, or the dreadful pressing on of the metal plates burned them. The torturer tore away the hair and skin of the head from the brow backwards, so that the bare skull uncovered down to the neck should dishonour it, and she cried:

clamabat illa: ' patere; gemmis vestiet
apicem hunc corona regio ex diademate.'
linguam tyrannus amputari iusserat
uni ex ephebis; mater aiebat: ' satis
iam parta nobis gloria est; pars optima
Deo inmolatur ecce nostri corporis;
digna est fidelis lingua quae sit hostia.
interpres animi, enuntiatrix sensuum,
cordis ministra, praeco operti pectoris,
prima offeratur in sacramentum necis
et sit redemptrix prima membrorum omnium;
ducem dicatam mox sequentur cetera.'
his Maccabeos incitans stimulis parens
hostem subegit subiugatum septies,
quot feta natis, tot triumphis inclyta;
me partus unus ut feracem gloriae,
mea vita, praestet, in tua est situm manu.
per huius alvi fida conceptacula,
per hospitalem mense bis quino larem,
si dulce nostri pectoris nectar tibi,
si molle gremium, grata si crepundia,
persiste et horum munerum auctorem adsere.
quanam arte nobis vivere intus coeperis,
nihilumque et illud, unde corpus, nescio;
novit animator solus et factor tui.
inpendere ipsi, cuius ortus munere es;
bene in datorem quod dedit refuderis."
talia canente matre iam laetus puer
virgas strepentes et dolorem verberum
ridebat. hic tum cognitor pronuntiat:
" claudatur infans carcere et tanti mali
Romanus auctor torqueatur acrius."

'Bear it, for a crown will clothe this head in jewels with a king's diadem.' The oppressor commanded the tongue of one of the young lads to be cut out, and his mother said: 'Now we have won glory enough, for lo, the best part of our body is being sacrificed to God. The faithful tongue is worthy to be an offering. The mind's spokesman, which declares our sentiments, the heart's servant, which proclaims the silent thoughts of our breast, let it be offered first for the celebration of the mystery of death, and be the first to redeem all the members, and then the rest will follow their dedicated leader.' With these incentives their mother urged on the Maccabean brothers and seven times overcame and subdued the foe, winning the fame of as many victories as she had borne sons. That one birth shall make me fruitful in glory it lies in your hands, my life, to secure. By this faithful womb which conceived you, the home where for ten months you sojourned, if the nectar of my breast was sweet to you, if you lay softly in my bosom and your infancy was happy, be steadfast and maintain the cause of Him who is the author of these blessings. How your life began within me, that nothingness from which your body grew, I know not; only He who quickened you, He who is your creator, knows. Devote yourself to Him by whose gift you were born. You will do well if you restore to the giver that which He gave."

Cheered now by this recital of his mother's, the boy was laughing at the sounding switch and the pain of the blows; whereupon the inquisitor pronounces judgment: "Let the child be shut up in prison, and Romanus, who is responsible for all this

illum recentes per cicatricum vias
denuo exarabant, quaque acutum traxerant
paulo ante ferrum, mox recrudescentibus
plagis apertas persequebantur notas,
quos iam superbus victor ignavos vocat.
" o non virile robur, o molles manus!
unam labantis dissipare tam diu
vos non potesse fabricam corpusculi!
vix iam cohaeret, nec tamen penitus cadit,
vincens lacertos dexterarum inertium.
citius cadaver dentibus carpunt canes,
longeque morsus vulturum efficacior
ad devorandas carnis offas mortuae.
languetis inbelli fame ac fatiscitis,
gula est ferina, sed socors edacitas."
exarsit istis turbida ira iudicis
seque in supremam concitat sententiam:
" si te morarum paenitet, finem citum
subeas licebit: ignibus vorabere
damnatus et favilla iam tenuis fies."
abiens at ille, cum foro abriperent virum
truces ministri, pone respectans ait:
" appello ab ista, perfide, ad Christum meum
crudelitate, non metu mortis tremens,
sed ut probetur esse nil quod iudicas."
" quid differo," inquit ille, " utrosque perdere,
puerum ac magistrum, conplices sectae inpiae?
gladius recidat vile vix hominis caput
infantis, istum flamma vindex concremet,
sit his sub uno fine dispar exitus."
perventum ad ipsum caedis inplendae locum.
natum gerebat mater amplexu et sinu,

mischief, be put to sharper torture." Along the paths of the cuts but lately made they began to plough afresh; where a little while before they had drawn the sharp steel, they were following its open tracks and making the wounds bleed again; but now in the pride of victory he calls them sluggards. "What want of manly strength! What delicate hands! To think that in this long time you have failed to demolish the fabric of one poor perishing body! Scarcely any longer does it hold together, yet it does not fall utterly, for it defeats the powers of your feckless hands. Dogs are quicker to tear a corpse with their teeth, and the bites of vultures far more potent for devouring bits of carrion. You are weary and faint, your hunger lacks spirit; you have a wild beast's voracity but your appetite is sluggish!" At these words the judge's angry passion blazed up and rushed precipitately to final sentence: "If you are not pleased with the delays, you may suffer a speedy end. You are condemned to be devoured by fire and will soon be reduced to fine ashes." But Romanus, as the grim officers were hurrying him from the court, looked back as he went and said: "I appeal from your cruelty, infidel, to my own Christ, not that I tremble with the fear of death, but that your judgment may be proved to be nothing." "Why not at once destroy them both," said the judge, "the boy and his teacher, since they are confederates in their impious doctrine? Let the sword cut off the trumpery head of the child, scarce man, and avenging fire consume this other; let them have different ends but die together."

They reached the place where sentence of death was to be executed, the mother carrying her son in

ut primitivum crederes fetum geri
Deo offerendum sancti Abelis ferculo,
lectum ex ovili, puriorem ceteris.
  puerum poposcit carnifex, mater dedit,
nec inmorata est fletibus, tantum osculum
inpressit unum: " vale," ait, " dulcissime,
et cum beatus regna Christi intraveris,
memento matris, iam patrone ex filio."
  dixit: deinde dum ferit cerviculam
percussor ense, docta mulier psallere
hymnum canebat carminis Davitici:
' pretiosa sancti mors sub aspectu Dei,
tuus ille servus, prolis ancillae tuae.'
  talia retexens explicabat pallium
manusque tendebat sub ictu et sanguine,
venarum ut undam profluam manantium
et palpitantis oris exciperet globum:
excepit, et caro adplicavit pectori.
  at parte campi ex altera inmanem pyram
texebat ustor fumidus pinu arida,
sarmenta mixtim subdita et faeni struem
spargens liquato rore ferventis picis,
quo flamma pastu cresceret ferocius.
  et iam retortis bracchiis furca eminus
Romanus actus ingerebatur rogo:
" scio," inquit ille, " non futurum ut concremer,
nec passionis hoc genus datum est mihi,
et restat ingens quod fiat miraculum."
  haec eius orsa sequitur inmensus fragor
nubis ruentis, nimbus undatim nigro

---

[a] *Cf.* Psalm cxv, 6–7 in the Vulgate, cxvi, 15–16 in the English A.V.

her arms on her bosom, like the firstling carried in holy Abel's basket to be offered to God, one chosen out of the fold and purer than the rest. The executioner called for the boy and his mother gave him up. Wasting no time on tears, she pressed but one kiss on him, saying: "Farewell, my sweetest, and when in blessedness you enter Christ's kingdom, remember your mother, changing from son to patron." So she spoke, and while the headsman struck the little neck with the sword the woman (for she was trained in music) sang a hymn, a song of David: "Precious is the death of a holy one in the sight of God; he is thy servant, the son of thine handmaid."[a] While repeating the words, she spread out her robe and stretched forth her hands beneath the stroke and the blood to catch the stream that ran from the flowing veins, and the round head as the mouth breathed its last; and catching it she pressed it to her fond breast. On the other side of the ground the smoke-grimed officer in charge of burning was building up a monstrous pyre with dry pinewood, sprinkling with a stream of hot molten pitch the fagots that he laid underneath among the logs, and the dried grass that was piled up, so as to feed the flame and make it spread more fiercely. And now Romanus, his arms twisted away behind him with the fork,[b] had been brought up, and as he was being set on the pyre he said: "I know that I shall not be burned. This kind of passion is not appointed for me, and there is yet a great miracle to be performed." On these words of his there followed the tremendous crash of a cloud-burst, and the rain-storm falling in

[b] A V-shaped instrument of wood which was placed on a culprit's shoulders and to which his arms were tied behind.

praeceps aquarum flumine ignes obruit.
alunt olivo semiconbustas faces,
sed vincit imber iam madentem fomitem.
  trepidare taeter carnifex rebus novis
turbatus, et qua posset arte insistere,
versare torres cum favillis umidis,
prunas maniplis confovere stuppeis
et semen ignis inter undas quaerere.
  quod cum tumenti nuntiatum iudici,
commovit [1] iram fellis inplacabilis:
" quousque tandem summus hic nobis magus
inludet," inquit, " Thessalorum carmine
poenam peritus vertere in ludibrium?
  fortasse cervix, si secandam iussero
flecti sub ensem, non patebit vulneri:
vel amputatum plaga collum dividens
rursus coibit ac reglutinabitur,
umerisque vertex eminebit additus.
  temptemus igitur ante partem quampiam
truncare ferro corporis superstitis,
ne morte simpla criminosus multiplex
cadat vel una perfidus caede oppetat:
quot membra gestat, tot modis pereat volo.
  libet experiri, Lerna sicut traditur,
utrum renatis pullulascat artubus,
ac se inminuti corporis damnis novum
instauret: ipse praesto erit tunc Hercules
hydrina suetus ustuire vulnera.
  iam nunc secandi doctus adsit artifex,
qui cuncta norit viscerum confinia

[1] *Some MSS., including B, have* movisset.

[a] Thessaly had a reputation for witchcraft.

a headlong stream overpowered the fires with a black river of water. They fed the dying brands with oil, but the rain had already soaked the kindling-wood and prevailed over it. The hideous executioner, agitated and upset by this new situation, persevered with all the devices he could, stirring the brands and the wet embers, nursing the live billets with handfuls of tow, searching for a spark of fire amid the water. When this was reported to the angry judge it raised his bitter, implacable wrath. "How long," he asked, "is this great sorcerer to make game of us through his skill in turning punishment to mockery with a Thessalian[a] spell? Perhaps his neck, if I order that it bend to receive the sword-stroke, will prove impervious to the blow, or the wound that cuts it in two will heal and join again, and his head be set on his shoulders and stand erect. Let us first try, therefore, cutting off some part of his body with the steel and leaving the rest alive, so that this man of many crimes may not fall by one single death, this traitor perish by one act of bloodshed. I will have him die as many deaths as he has members. I should like to try whether, as in the tale of Lerna,[b] he sprouts out parts that grow again, renewing himself by the losses that impair his body. In that case a very Hercules will be here who is accustomed to burning a hydra's wounds. This moment let a skilled master of the knife attend, one who knows how to take apart all the contiguities of the flesh,

[b] One of the "labours" of Hercules was to kill the hydra or water-snake which haunted the swamps of Lerna, near Argos. It had many heads, and for every one that Hercules cut off another (or in some accounts two more) grew, till his companion Iolaos hit on the plan of burning the stump with a fire-brand.

vel nexa nervis disparare vincula.
date hunc, revulsis qui medetur ossibus
aut fracta nodis sarciens conpaginat.
linguam priorem detrahat radicitus,
quae corpore omni sola vivit nequior;
illa et procaci pessima in nostros deos
invecta motu fas profanavit vetus,
audax et ipsi non pepercit principi."
Aristo quidam medicus accitus venit,
proferre linguam praecipit: profert statim
martyr retectam, pandit ima et faucium;
ille et palatum tractat et digito exitum
vocis pererrans vulneri explorat locum.
linguam deinde longe ab ore protrahens
scalpellum in usque guttur insertans agit.
illo secante fila sensim singula
numquam momordit martyr aut os dentibus
conpressit artis nec cruorem sorbuit.
inmotus et patente rictu constitit
dum sanguis extra defluit scaturriens;
perfusa pulcher menta russo stemmate
fert et cruenti pectoris spectat decus
fruiturque et ostro vestis ut iam regiae.
praefectus ergo ratus elinguem virum
cogi ad sacrandum posse, cum verbis carens
nil in deorum blateraret dedecus,
iubet reduci iam tacentem ac debilem
multo loquentis turbine olim territus.
reponit aras ad tribunal denuo
et tus et ignem vividum in carbonibus
taurina et exta vel suilla abdomina:
ingressus ille, ut hos paratus perspicit,
insufflat, ipsos ceu videret daemonas.

[a] A way of exorcising evil spirits.

all the fast attachments of the tendons. Produce the man who heals dislocated bones or ties them together and mends them when they are broken. First let him remove the tongue by its roots, for it is the very wickedest organ in the whole body; with its impudent wagging it has both violated our long-established divine law by a most foul attack upon our gods, and been so presumptuous as not even to spare the emperor." One Aristo, a doctor, is sent for and comes. He bids Romanus put out his tongue, and at once the martyr puts it out from cover, exposing his throat to its depths; and the doctor feels the palate, exploring the voice's outlet with his finger and seeking for the place to make the wound, then drawing the tongue far out from the mouth he puts his lancet inside, right down to the gullet. While he was gradually cutting the filaments one by one, the martyr never bit nor let his teeth meet to close his mouth, nor swallowed blood. Firm and unmoved he stood with jaws wide open while the blood ran gushing out, a noble figure with his chin overspread with the red emblem of glory, looking at the honourable stain of blood on his breast and finding satisfaction in the thought that the scarlet on his garment has made it kingly. The prefect then, thinking that a tongueless man could be forced to offer sacrifice, since for lack of speech he could not prate against the honour of the gods, ordered him to be brought back, silent now and disabled, whereas before his great blast of speech had scared him. He set up the altar again by his judgment-seat, with incense, and fire glowing on the coals, bull's entrails and swine's paunch, but Romanus on coming in and seeing these preparations, blew on them [a] as if he were seeing very

inridet hoc Asclepiades laetior,
addit deinde: " numquid inclementius,
sicut solebas, es paratus dicere?
effare quidvis ac perora et dissere.
permitto vocem libere ut exerceas."
Romanus alto corde suspirans diu
gemitu querellam traxit et sic orsus est:
" Christum loquenti lingua numquam defuit,
nec verba quaeras quo regantur organo,
cum praedicatur ipse verborum dator.
qui fecit ut vis vocis expressa intimo
pulmone et oris torta sub testudine
nunc ex palato det repercussos sonos,
nunc temperetur dentium de pectine,
sitque his agendis lingua plectrum mobile,
si mandet idem faucium sic fistulas
spirare flatu concinentes consono
ut verba in ipsis explicent meatibus,
vel exitu oris cymbalis profarier
nunc pressa parce labra, nunc hiantia,
dubitasne verti posse naturae statum,
cui facta forma est, qualis esset primitus?
hanc nempe factor vertere, ut libet, potest
positasque leges texere ac retexere,
linguam loquella ne ministram postulet.
vis scire nostri numinis potentiam?
fluctus liquentis aequoris pressit pede:
natura fluxa ac tenuis in solidum coit,
quam dispar illis legibus quis condita est!
solet natatus ferre, fert vestigia.
habet usitatum munus hoc divinitas
quae vera nobis colitur in Christo et Patre,
mutis loquellam, percitum claudis gradum,

[a] The instrument used for striking the strings of the lyre.

devils. Asclepiades, his spirits raised, laughed in scorn at this, and then said: "Are you ready with your rough speech, as you used to be? Speak out as you please, hold forth at length, discourse. I give you leave to use your voice unhindered." Romanus, heaving a long, deep sigh, a long-drawn groan of protest, thus began: "Tongue never failed him who spoke of Christ, and you need not ask what organ controls the speech when it is the giver of speech himself who is proclaimed. He who brought it to pass that the potency of the voice, forced out from the depths of the lung and launched in the vault of the mouth, now gives out sounds that reverberate from the palate, and again is modified by the row of teeth, and that for these processes the tongue plays the part of the nimble quill,[a]—should He also ordain that the throat blow like a set of pipes in concert with harmonious breath so as to make articulate words in the passages themselves, or that in the orifice of the mouth the lips utter speech by being now slightly closed and again opened wide, like a pair of cymbals, do you doubt that the system of nature, since its original plan was a creation, can be changed? Naturally its creator can change it as He pleases, making and unmaking established laws, so that speech shall not demand the agency of a tongue. Would you know the might of our God? When He places his foot on the waters of the flowing sea, its thin, unstable substance sets in a solid mass—how unlike the laws under which it was created! It is wont to bear up swimmers, but now it bears up footsteps! It is a familiar power of the true divine nature which we worship in Christ and the Father, to restore speech to the dumb, a quick step to the lame, the

surdis fruendam reddere audientiam,
donare caecis lucis insuetae diem.
haec si quis amens fabulosa existimat,
vel ipse tute si parum fidelia
rebare pridem, vera cognoscas licet:
habes loquentem, cuius amputaveras
linguam: probatis cede iam miraculis."
horror stupentem persecutorem subit
timorque et ira pectus in caliginem
vertere; nescit vigilet anne somniet,
miratur haerens quod sit ostenti genus.
formido frangit, armat indignatio.
nec vim domare mentis effrenae potest,
nec quo furoris tela vertat invenit.
postremo medicum saevus insontem iubet
reum citari; nundinatum hunc arguit
mercede certa pactus ut conluderet:
aut ferrum in ore nil agens et inritum
versasse frustra seu retunsis tactibus
aut arte quadam vulnus inlatum breve,
quod sauciata parte linguam laederet
nervos nec omnes usquequaque abscideret.
manere salvam vocis harmoniam probe
non posse, inani concavo verba exprimi,
quae concrepare ligula moderatrix facit.
esto ut resultet spiritus vacuo specu,
echo sed extat inde, non oratio.
veris refutat medicus hanc calumniam:
" scrutare vel tu nunc latebras faucium,
intraque dentes curiosum pollicem
circumfer, haustus vel patentes inspice,
lateatne quidquam quod regat spiramina.

benefit of hearing to the deaf, and give to the blind the unwonted light of day. If any man is fool enough to think these things are fabulous, or if you yourself formerly judged them unworthy of belief, you may learn that they are real: you have here a man speaking after you have cut his tongue out. Yield now to miracles you have proved!" The persecutor is aghast, his blood curdling; fear and wrath have turned his mind to darkness and he knows not whether he is awake or dreaming. At a loss, he wonders what kind of portent this may be. Dread breaks him down, disdainful anger spurs him on. He cannot control the unbridled impulse of his heart, nor yet find where to aim the weapons of his rage. In the end he fiercely orders the innocent doctor to be brought before him and charged, accusing him of having been bought over and having agreed, for a definite payment, to join in a fraud; either he applied a useless, ineffectual, blunt-edged knife to no purpose in the mouth, or by some trick inflicted a small cut, to do damage to the tongue only as far as to wound it in one place, without cutting away all the tendons throughout; it is quite impossible for the articulate sound of the voice to be preserved and words to be uttered, if the vault were empty, since it is the tongue's control that makes them sound. Granted that the breath reverberates in the unoccupied cavity, still it is a mere repercussion of sound that results, not speech. The doctor rebuts the false charge with the truth, saying: "Examine the recesses of the throat now for yourself; carry an inquiring thumb round about inside the teeth, or look into the open jaws, and see if there remains concealed anything to govern the breath. After

quamquam forassem forte si puncto levi
tenuive linguam contigissem vulnere,
titubante plectro fatus esset debilis.
nam cum magistra vocis in vitium cadit,
usus necesse est et loquendi intercidat.
fiat periclum, si placet, cuiusmodi
edat querellam quadrupes lingua eruta,
elinguis et quem porca grunnitum strepat;
cui vox fragosa, clamor est inconditus,
probabo mutam nil sonare stridulum.
testor salutem principis me simplici
functum secantis arte, iudex optime,
servisse iussis absque fraude publicis.
sciat hic quis illi verba suggillet deus:
ego unde mutus sit disertus nescio."
his sese Aristo purgat, at contra inpium
nil haec latronem Christianorum movent;
magis magisque fertur in vesaniam,
quaerit alienus sanguis ille asperserit
virum, suone fluxerit de vulnere.
respondit his Romanus: " eccum, praesto sum:
meus iste sanguis verus est, non bubulus.
agnoscis illum quem loquor, miserrime
pagane, vestri sanguinem sacrum bovis,
cuius litata caede permadescitis?
summus sacerdos nempe sub terram scrobe
acta in profundum consecrandus mergitur,
mire infulatus, festa vittis tempora

---

[a] The rite which Prudentius goes on to describe, and for the details of which this passage is the principal source of information, was known as *taurobolium*, and was associated with the worship of the Magna Mater and of Mithras. The practice of it spread widely through the West from the 2nd

all, had I only pricked the tongue with a trifling puncture or touched it with a slight wound, its beating would have faltered and disabled the speech, for when the mistress of the voice contracts a fault the exercise of speech also must be lost. Let us make trial, if you will, what sort of growl a four-footed beast utters when its tongue is rooted out, what sort of grunt a tongueless pig makes. I shall prove that an animal with a harsh voice and an inarticulate cry makes never a shriek when it is dumb. By the life of the emperor I swear I practised my surgical art honestly, most excellent judge, and without deception obeyed the orders of authority. It is for this man to know what god is supplying him with words; for my part, how a dumb man comes to be fluent I know not."

With these words Aristo tried to clear himself, but they moved the godless persecutor of the Christians not at all, and he rushed more and more into a mad rage. He asked whether that was someone else's blood which bespattered Romanus, or whether it flowed from a wound of his own. To this Romanus answered: "Here I am before you. This is truly my own blood, not that of an ox. Do you realise, unhappy pagan, the blood I speak of,—the sacred blood of your ox, in the sacrificial slaughter of which you soak yourselves?[a] The high priest, you know, goes down into a trench dug deep in the ground to be made holy, wearing a strange headband, his temples bound with its fillets for the solemnity,

century onwards, and is attested by many inscriptions. The person who went through the ceremony believed himself to be "reborn for eternal life." See Dill, pp. 82–83, Bailey, pp. 202–203.

nectens, corona tum repexus aurea,
cinctu Gabino sericam fultus togam.
tabulis superne strata texunt pulpita
rimosa rari pegmatis conpagibus,
scindunt subinde vel terebrant aream
crebroque lignum perforant acumine,
pateat minutis ut frequens hiatibus.
huc taurus ingens fronte torva et hispida
sertis revinctus aut per armos floreis
aut inpeditis cornibus deducitur,
nec non et auro frons coruscat hostiae,
saetasque fulgor brattealis inficit.
hic ut statuta est inmolanda belua,
pectus sacrato dividunt venabulo;
eructat amplum vulnus undam sanguinis
ferventis, inque texta pontis subditi
fundit vaporum flumen et late aestuat.
tum per frequentes mille rimarum vias
inlapsus imber tabidum rorem pluit,
defossus intus quem sacerdos excipit
guttas ad omnes turpe subiectans caput
et veste et omni putrefactus corpore.
quin os supinat, obvias offert genas,
supponit aures, labra, nares obicit,
oculos et ipsos perluit liquoribus,
nec iam palato parcit et linguam rigat,
donec cruorem totus atrum conbibat.
postquam cadaver sanguine egesto rigens
conpage ab illa flamines retraxerint,
procedit inde pontifex visu horridus,
ostentat udum verticem, barbam gravem,
vittas madentes atque amictus ebrios.

[a] A manner of wearing the toga which was observed in connection with sacrifice and some other solemn occasions.

and his hair clasped with a golden crown, while his silken robe is held up with the Gabine girdle.[a] Above him they lay planks to make a stage, leaving the timber-structure open, with spaces between; and then they cut and bore through the floor, perforating the wood in many places with a sharp-pointed tool so that it has a great number of little openings. Hither is led a great bull with a grim, shaggy brow, wreathed with garlands of flowers about his shoulders and encircling his horns, while the victim's brow glitters with gold, the sheen of the plates tinging his rough hair. When the beast for sacrifice has been stationed here, they cut his breast open with a consecrated hunting-spear and the great wound disgorges a stream of hot blood, pouring on the plank-bridge below a steaming river which spreads billowing out. Then through the many ways afforded by the thousand chinks it passes in a shower, dripping a foul rain, and the priest in the pit below catches it, holding his filthy head to meet every drop and getting his robe and his whole body covered with corruption. Laying his head back he even puts his cheeks in the way, placing his ears under it, exposing lips and nostrils, bathing his very eyes in the stream, not even keeping his mouth from it but wetting his tongue, until the whole of him drinks in the dark gore. After the blood is all spent and the officiating priests have drawn the stiff carcase away from the planking, the pontiff comes forth from his place, a grisly sight, and displays his wet head, his matted beard, his dank fillets and soaking garments. De-

[a] A part of it which was normally thrown over the left shoulder was carried round the waist instead. Why this was called Gabine is unknown.

hunc inquinatum talibus contagiis,
tabo recentis sordidum piaculi,
omnes salutant atque adorant eminus,
vilis quod illum sanguis et bos mortuus
foedis latentem sub cavernis laverint.
addamus illam, vis, hecatomben tuam,
centena ferro cum cadunt animalia,
variaque abundans caede restagnat cruor,
vix ut cruentis augures natatibus
possint meare per profundum sanguinis?
sed quid macellum pingue pulvinarium,
quid maximorum lancinatores gregum
eviscerata carne crudos criminor?
sunt sacra quando vosmet ipsi exciditis,
votivus et cum membra detruncat dolor.
cultrum in lacertos exerit fanaticus
sectisque Matrem bracchiis placat deam,
furere ac rotari ius putatur mysticum;
parca ad secandum dextra fertur inpia,
caelum meretur vulnerum crudelitas.
ast hic metenda dedicat genitalia,
numen reciso mitigans ab inguine
offert pudendum semivir donum deae:
illam revulsa masculini germinis
vena effluenti pascit auctam sanguine.
uterque sexus sanctitati displicet,
medium retentat inter alternum genus,
mas esse cessat ille, nec fit femina.
felix deorum mater inberbes sibi

filed as he is with such pollution, all unclean with the foul blood of the victim just slain, they all stand apart and give him salutation and do him reverence because the paltry blood of a dead ox has washed him while he was ensconced in a loathsome hole in the ground. Will you have me speak also of that hecatomb of yours, when a hundred beasts at a time fall by the knife and the gore from all the separate slaughters swells into a flood, so that the augurs almost have to swim to make their way through the sea of blood? But why do I protest against that rich store of meat for feasting gods,[a] and the butchers who cut up those great herds and are all bloody with disembowelling the flesh? There are rites in which you mutilate yourselves and maim your bodies to make an offering of the pain. A worshipper possessed thrusts the knife into his arms and cuts them to propitiate the Mother goddess. Frenzy and wild whirling are thought to be the rule of her mysteries. The hand that spares the cutting is held to be undutiful, and it is the barbarity of the wounds that earns heaven. Another makes the sacrifice of his genitals; appeasing the goddess by mutilating his loins, he unmans himself and offers her a shameful gift; the source of the man's seed is torn away to give her food and increase through the flow of blood. Both sexes are displeasing to her holiness, so he keeps a middle gender between the two, ceasing to be a man without becoming a woman. The Mother of the Gods has the happiness of getting

[a] At the ceremony of the *lectisternium* (first introduced at Rome from Greece in 399 B.C.) images of gods were placed on cushioned couches (*pulvinaria*) and a meal was laid before them.

parat ministros levibus [1] novaculis.
quid, cum sacrandus accipit sphragitidas?
acus minutas ingerunt fornacibus,
his membra pergunt urere, ut igniverint;
quamcumque partem corporis fervens nota
stigmarit, hanc sic consecratam praedicant.
functum deinde cum reliquit spiritus
et ad sepulcrum pompa fertur funeris,
partes per ipsas inprimuntur bratteae;
insignis auri lammina obducit cutem,
tegitur metallo, quod perustum est ignibus.
has ferre poenas cogitur gentilitas,
hac di coercent lege cultores suos:
sic daemon ipse ludit hos quos ceperit,
docet execrandas ferre contumelias,
tormenta inuri mandat infelicibus.
at noster iste sanguis ex vestra fluit
crudelitate, vos tyrannide inpia
exulceratis innocentum corpora.
si vos sinatis, incruente vivimus,
at si cruente puniamur, vincimus.
sed iam silebo; finis instat debitus,
finis malorum, passionis gloria;
iam non licebit, inprobe, ut licuit modo,
torquere nostra vel secare viscera;
cedas necesse est victus et iam desinas."
" cessabit equidem tortor et sector dehinc,"
iudex minatur " sed peremptoris manus
succedet illis, strangulatrix faucium;
aliter silere nescit oris garruli
vox inquieta, quam tubam si fregero."
dixit, foroque protrahi iussit virum,

[1] *So most of the early editors, but Bergman's MSS. have* lenibus, *which he and Dressel keep. The oldest MS. A is not available.*

herself beardless ministers with a well-ground razor! And there is the time when the aspirant to holiness receives the seal; they put little needles in furnaces and then, as soon as they have made them red-hot, burn their bodies with them, and whatever part of the body is branded with the mark of the hot iron they claim to be thus consecrated. Later on, when the man is dead and the spirit has left him and the funeral procession is passing to the tomb, plates are laid along these same parts, a splendid sheet of gold spreads over the skin, and what was burned with fire is covered with metal. Such are the sufferings pagans are compelled to bear, such the law their gods impose on their worshippers; this is how the devil himself makes sport of those whom he has taken captive, teaching them to suffer accursed indignities and ordaining that marks of torture be branded on his luckless victims. But this blood of ours flows from *your* barbarity; it is you pagans who by your godless cruelty make sores on the bodies of innocent men. If you let us alone, we live without shedding of blood; but if we are made to suffer bloodshed we win the victory. But now I shall say no more; the appointed end is near, the end of all my ills, the glory of my passion. No longer, you monster, will you be allowed, as you have just been, to rack and cut my flesh; you must needs retire beaten and give up the contest."

"Racker and cutter will indeed give up from now," was the judge's menacing answer, "but the killer's hand will take their place and strangle you. The restless voice in your chattering mouth can only be silenced if I break its pipe." So speaking, he ordered Romanus to be dragged from the court and

trudi in tenebras noxialis carceris;
elidit illic fune collum martyris
lictor nefandus. sic peracta est passio;
anima absoluta vinculis caelum petit.
gesta intimasse cuncta fertur principi
praefectus addens ordinem voluminum
seriemque tantae digerens tragoediae:
laetatus omne crimen in fasces refert
suum tyrannus chartulis vivacibus.
illas sed aetas conficit diutina,
fuligo fuscat, pulvis obducit situ,
carpit senectus aut ruinis obruit:
inscripta Christo pagina inmortalis est,
nec obsolescit ullus in caelis apex.
excepit adstans angelus coram Deo
et quae locutus martyr et quae pertulit,
nec verba solum disserentis condidit,
sed ipsa pingens vulnera expressit stilo
laterum, genarum pectorisque et faucium.
omnis notata est sanguinis dimensio,
ut quamque plagam sulcus exaraverit,
altam, patentem, proximam, longam, brevem,
quae vis doloris, quive segmenti modus;
guttam cruoris ille nullam perdidit.
hic in regestis est liber caelestibus,
monumenta servans laudis indelebilis,
relegendus olim sempiterno iudici,
libramine aequo qui malorum pondera
et praemiorum conparabit copias.
vellem sinister inter haedorum greges,
ut sum futurus, eminus dinoscerer
atque hoc precante diceret rex optimus:
" Romanus orat; transfer hunc haedum mihi;
sit dexter agnus, induatur vellere."

thrust into the darkness of the penal prison-house, and there with a cord an atrocious lictor broke his neck. So ended his passion, and his soul, freed from its bondage, passed to heaven.

They say the governor reported all the facts to the emperor, with a series of scrolls in which he laid out in order all the details of this great tragic drama, the oppressor cheerfully entering all his own wickedness in packets of records on sheets that were meant to last. But those the long passage of time destroys, they are blackened with grime or covered with dust where they lie undisturbed, old age tatters them or buries them under ruins; whereas the page that Christ has written upon is deathless and in heaven not a letter fades away. An angel standing in the presence of God took down all that the martyr said and all he bore, and not only recorded the words of his discourse but with his pen drew exact pictures of the wounds on his sides and cheeks and breast and throat. The measure of blood from each was noted, and how in each case the gash ploughed out the wound, whether deep or wide or on the surface, long or short, the violence of the pain, the extent of the cut; no drop of blood did he let go for nought. This book is in the heavenly register, preserving the records of glory imperishable, and to be read again one day by the everlasting Judge, who with just balance will match the weight of woe and the abundance of reward. Would that I, standing as I shall be on the left among the flocks of goats, might be picked out from afar and at Romanus' petition the King most excellent might say: "Romanus prays for him. Bring this goat over to me; let him stand on my right hand as a lamb and be clothed in a fleece."

XI

Ad Valerianum Episcopum de Passione Hippolyti Beatissimi Martyris.

Innumeros cineres sanctorum Romula in urbe
vidimus, o Christi Valeriane sacer.
incisos tumulis titulos et singula quaeris
nomina: difficile est ut replicare queam.
tantos iustorum populos furor inpius hausit,
cum coleret patrios Troia Roma deos.
plurima litterulis signata sepulcra loquuntur
martyris aut nomen aut epigramma aliquod,
sunt et muta tamen tacitas claudentia tumbas
marmora, quae solum significant numerum.
quanta virum iaceant congestis corpora acervis
nosse licet, quorum nomina nulla legas.
sexaginta illic defossas mole sub una
reliquias memini me didicisse hominum,

---

[a] The tradition of Hippolytus as here presented is very uncertain. He seems indeed certainly to have been the theologian whose burial-place on the Via Tiburtina is known, and who was a presbyter at Rome, where he was opposed to bishop Callistus. In 235 he was banished to Sardinia, and it is commonly supposed that he died there soon afterwards. Prudentius seems to have derived his statements partly from an inscription set up by Damasus (Pope 366–384) at the burial-place (see *Anthologiae Latinae Supplementum, Damasi Epigrammata*, ed. Ihm, Leipzig, 1895, no. 37), partly from a picture which he saw there (*cf.* lines 123 ff.). Damasus himself says that he relied on purely oral tradition which he does not guarantee ("haec audita refert Damasus; probat omnia Christus"). He attributes to Hippolytus, as does Prudentius (19 ff.), adherence to the Novatian schism, which he is said to have repudiated on his way to martyrdom; this would imply that he returned from exile and lived till the middle of the

XI

To Bishop Valerian on the Passion of the Most Blessed Martyr Hippolytus.[a]

Countless are the graves of saints I have seen in the city of Romulus, Valerian, Christ's dedicated servant. You ask for the inscriptions cut on their tombs, and their individual names, but it is hard for me to be able to repeat them. Such great multitudes of the righteous did ungodly rage devour while Trojan Rome still worshipped the gods of her fathers. Many a grave is lettered and tells the martyr's name or bears some epitaph, but there are mute marbles too, which shut up the tombs in silence and only indicate the number; you may learn what masses of men's bodies lie gathered together in heaps, but read the name of none of them. I remember finding that the remains of sixty persons were buried there under one massive stone, whose

century. Damasus says nothing about the manner of his death. There is no reason to doubt that Prudentius saw and correctly interpreted the picture which represented him as having been torn to pieces by wild horses, like the Hippolytus of the Greek mythology (see *Contra Symm.*, II, 53 ff.), but the picture may have owed its inspiration only to the identity of the name. There is also confusion in Prudentius, though not in Damasus, with a martyr Hippolytus of Portus (39 f.), who is mentioned in the Martyrology falsely ascribed to Jerome. Portus was a town which had grown up round the new harbour begun by Claudius and completed by Trajan, north of Ostia. For discussions see d'Alès, *La Théologie de S. Hippolyte* (Paris, 1906), pp. xi ff., Allard, *Les Dernières Persécutions du IIIme Siècle* (4th ed. Paris, 1924), Appendices E and F, Lavarenne, *Prudence* (Paris, 1951), IV, pp. 159 ff.

quorum solus habet conperta vocabula Christus,
  utpote quos propriae iunxit amicitiae.
haec dum lustro oculis et sicubi forte latentes
  rerum apices veterum per monumenta sequor,
invenio Hippolytum, qui quondam scisma Novati
  presbyter attigerat nostra sequenda negans,
usque ad martyrii provectum insigne tulisse
  lucida sanguinei praemia supplicii.
nec mirere senem perversi dogmatis olim
  munere ditatum catholicae fidei.
cum iam vesano victor raperetur ab hoste
  exultante anima carnis ad exitium,
plebis amore suae multis comitantibus ibat.
  consultus quaenam secta foret melior,
respondit: " fugite, o miseri, execranda Novati
  scismata, catholicis reddite vos populis.
una fides vigeat, prisco quae condita templo est,
  quam Paulus retinet quamque cathedra Petri.
quae docui, docuisse piget: venerabile martyr
  cerno, quod a cultu rebar abesse Dei."
his ubi detorsit laevo de tramite plebem
  monstravitque sequi qua via dextra vocat,
seque ducem recti spretis anfractibus idem
  praebuit, erroris qui prius auctor erat,
sistitur insano rectori Christicolas tunc
  ostia vexanti per Tiberina viros.
illo namque die Roma secesserat, ipsos

---

[a] The dispute had to do mainly with the question whether, and on what conditions, persons who had lapsed could be re-admitted to communion. Novatus stood for rigour.

[b] The harbour at Portus (now some distance from the sea) was connected with the Tiber by a new cut, but no doubt the whole district, including Ostia, is meant. *Cf.* 151.

names Christ alone knows, since He has added them to the company of his friends. In surveying these memorials and hunting over them for any letters telling of the deeds of old, that might escape the eye, I found that Hippolytus, who had at one time as a presbyter attached himself to the schism of Novatus,[a] saying that our way was not to be followed, had been advanced to the crown of martyrdom and won the shining reward for suffering bloodshed. Nor is it surprising that an old man who had once been a follower of a vicious doctrine was enriched with a gift which belongs to the orthodox faith. When he won his triumph and with exulting spirit was being carried off by a furious enemy to suffer the death of the flesh, because of his people's love he was accompanied by many on the way; and being asked which teaching was the better he answered: "O my poor friends, shun the accursed schism of Novatus and return to the orthodox people. Let the faith be strong in its unity, the faith that was established in the early Church and which Paul and the chair of Peter hold fast. What I taught, I regret having taught; now that I am bearing witness I see that what I thought foreign to the worship of God is worthy of reverence." With these words he turned the people away from the path on the left and bade them follow where the way on the right calls, presenting himself as their guide on the straight road and rejecting all windings, the very man who was formerly the cause of their going astray. Then he was brought before a maddened ruler who at that time was afflicting Christian heroes by Tiber's mouth;[b] for that day he had left Rome to beat down with persecution the

peste suburbanos ut quateret populos,
non contentus humum celsae intra moenia Romae
tinguere iustorum caedibus assiduis.
Ianiculum cum iam madidum, fora, rostra, Suburam
cerneret eluvie sanguinis affluere,
protulerat rabiem Tyrrheni ad litoris oram
quaeque loca aequoreus proxima portus habet.
inter carnifices et constipata sedebat
officia extructo celsior in solio.
discipulos fidei detestandique rebelles
idolii ardebat dedere perfidiae.
carcereo crinita situ stare agmina contra
iusserat horrendis excrucianda modis.
inde catenarum tractus, hinc lorea flagra
stridere, virgarum concrepitare fragor.
ungula fixa cavis costarum cratibus altos
pandere secessus et lacerare iecur.
ac iam lassatis iudex tortoribus ibat
in furias cassa cognitione fremens,
nullus enim Christi ex famulis per tanta repertus
supplicia, auderet qui vitiare animam.
inde furens quaesitor ait: " iam, tortor, ab unco
desine; si vana est quaestio, morte agito.
huic abscide caput, crux istum tollat in auras
viventesque oculos offerat alitibus.
hos rape praecipites et vinctos conice in ignem,
sit pyra quae multos devoret una reos.
en tibi quos properes rimosae inponere cumbae,
pellere et in medii stagna profunda freti.
quos ubi susceptos rabidum male suta per aequor
vexerit et tumidis caesa labarit aquis,

[a] The *rostra* proper was a platform for speakers in the Forum Romanum, so called because it was decorated with beaks of ships taken from the Antiates in 338 B.C.

peoples of the near-by districts, not being content to wet the ground within the walls of lofty Rome with constant slaying of the righteous. Seeing the Janiculum now soaked, and squares, platforms,[a] the Subura flooded with pools of blood, he had carried his rage out to the Tyrrhenian coast and the parts that lie nearest to the seaport. Amid his executioners and close-packed staff he was sitting on a chair of state elevated above them, burning to make the disciples of the faith, who would not give in to abominable idolatry, forswear themselves. Trains of them, their hair grown long and dirty from lying in prison, he had ordered to stand before him, to suffer frightful tortures. Here sounded the grating of the chains they dragged, there the crack of leathern lashes, or the crashing of the rods, while the claw pierced the hollow framework of their ribs, laying open deep cavities and tearing their vitals. And now the tormentors were weary and the judge passing into a furious rage at the futility of the trial, for not one of the servants of Christ was found in all the course of their sufferings, who would dare to taint his soul. So the inquisitor, grown frantic, said: "Drop the claw now, torturer. If the torture has no effect, proceed by death. Behead this one; let the cross lift that one into the air and present his living eyes to the birds; bundle those off, bind them and cast them into the fire; let there be a pyre that will consume many prisoners at one time. Here are some whom you will put at once on board a leaky boat and drive out to the deep water in the midst of the sea; and when the crazy boat has carried her passengers over the raging waves and gives way under the blows of the swelling waters, her deck-

dissociata putrem laxent tabulata carinam
conceptumque bibant undique naufragium.
squamea caenoso praestabit ventre sepulcrum
belua consumptis cruda cadaveribus."
haec persultanti celsum subito ante tribunal
offertur senior nexibus inplicitus.
stipati circum iuvenes clamore ferebant
ipsum Christicolis esse caput populis:
si foret extinctum propere caput, omnia vulgi
pectora Romanis sponte sacranda deis.
insolitum leti poscunt genus et nova poenae
inventa, exemplo quo trepident alii.
ille supinata residens cervice: "quis," inquit,
"dicitur?" adfirmant dicier Hippolytum.
"ergo sit Hippolytus, quatiat turbetque iugales,
intereatque feris dilaceratus equis."
vix haec ille, duo cogunt animalia freni
ignara insueto subdere colla iugo,
non stabulis blandive manu palpata magistri
imperiumque equitis ante subacta pati,
sed campestre vago nuper pecus e grege captum,
quod pavor indomito corde ferinus agit.
iamque reluctantes sociarant vincula bigas,
oraque discordi foedere nexuerant.
temonis vice funis inest, qui terga duorum
dividit et medius tangit utrumque latus,
deque iugo in longum se post vestigia retro
protendens trahitur, transit et ima pedum.

timbers shall part and open out the rotten bottom, so that she will let in water at all points and founder. Some scaly monster, gorged with the bodies it has devoured, will furnish them a grave in its foul belly."

While he was loudly giving these orders, an elderly man enveloped in bonds was suddenly presented before the high judgment-seat, and the young men who crowded round were crying out that he was the head of the hosts which worshipped Christ, and if the head were promptly destroyed, all the hearts of the multitude must freely dedicate themselves to the gods of Rome. They called for some unusual kind of death, some newly devised penalty to make an example for the terror of others. The judge, sitting with head thrown back, asked: "What is he called?" and they stated that he was called Hippolytus. "Hippolytus let him be, then. Let him get a team frightened and agitated and be torn to death by wild horses." His words were hardly spoken when they forced two animals that had never known the bridle to submit their necks to the strange yoke. They were not brought from the stable nor ever had been stroked by a caressing trainer's hand and broken in to suffer a rider's government, but were beasts of the field lately caught out of a wandering herd, their untamed spirits excited by a wild creature's nervousness. Already the struggling pair were harnessed together, their heads joined in discordant partnership. Instead of a pole there was a rope separating the bodies of the two, running between them and touching the flanks of both; and from the yoke it stretched out a long way back, trailing behind their tracks, reaching beyond their hooves. To the end

huius ad extremum, sequitur qua pulvere summo
cornipedum refugas orbita trita vias,
crura viri innectit laqueus nodoque tenaci
adstringit plantas cumque rudente ligat.
postquam composito satis instruxere paratu
martyris ad poenam verbera, vincla, feras,
instigant subitis clamoribus atque flagellis,
iliaque infestis perfodiunt stimulis.
ultima vox audita senis venerabilis haec est:
" hi rapiant artus, tu rape, Christe, animam."
prorumpunt alacres caecoque errore feruntur,
qua sonus atque tremor, qua furor exagitant.
incendit feritas, rapit impetus et fragor urget,
nec cursus volucer mobile sentit onus.
per silvas, per saxa ruunt, non ripa retardat
fluminis aut torrens oppositus cohibet.
prosternunt saepes et cuncta obstacula rumpunt,
prona, fragosa petunt, ardua transiliunt.
scissa minutatim labefacto corpore frusta
carpit spinigeris stirpibus hirtus ager.
pars summis pendet scopulis, pars sentibus haeret,
parte rubent frondes, parte madescit humus.
exemplar sceleris paries habet inlitus, in quo
multicolor fucus digerit omne nefas.
picta super tumulum species liquidis viget umbris
effigians tracti membra cruenta viri.
rorantes saxorum apices vidi, optime papa,
purpureasque notas vepribus inpositas.

of it, where the rut it made on the surface of the dusty ground followed the changing course of the runaway horses, a noose fastened Hippolytus' legs, binding his feet tight with a gripping knot and tying them to the rope.

Now that all was got ready and the needful whips and harness and wild horses provided for the martyr's suffering, they set them on with sudden shouts and lashes, and violently dug the pricks into their sides. These were the last words heard from the venerable old man: "Let these ravish my body, but do Thou, O Christ, ravish my soul." Off go the horses headlong, rushing about blindly wherever the din and their quivering nerves and frantic excitement drive them, spurred by their wild spirit, carried on by their dash, impelled by the noise, and in their swift career unconscious of the burden that goes with them. Through woods and over rocks they rush, no river-bank keeps them back, no torrent in their way checks them. They lay fences low and break through every obstacle; down slopes and over broken ground they go, and bound over the steep places. The body is shattered, the thorny shrubs which bristle on the ground cut and tear it to little bits. Some of it hangs from the top of rocks, some sticks to bushes, with some the branches are reddened, with some the earth is wet.

There is a picture of the outrage painted on a wall, showing in many colours the wicked deed in all its details; above the tomb is depicted a lively likeness, portraying in clear semblance Hippolytus' bleeding body as he was dragged along. I saw the tips of rocks dripping, most excellent Father, and scarlet stains imprinted on the briers, where a hand that

docta manus virides imitando effingere dumos
luserat e minio russeolam saniem.
cernere erat ruptis conpagibus ordine nullo
membra per incertos sparsa iacere situs.
addiderat caros gressu lacrimisque sequentes,
devia quo fractum semita monstrat iter.
maerore attoniti atque oculis rimantibus ibant,
inplebantque sinus visceribus laceris.
ille caput niveum conplectitur ac reverendam
canitiem molli confovet in gremio;
hic umeros truncasque manus et bracchia et ulnas
et genua et crurum fragmina nuda legit.
palliolis etiam bibulae siccantur harenae,
ne quis in infecto pulvere ros maneat.
si quis et in sudibus recalenti aspergine sanguis
insidet, hunc omnem spongia pressa rapit.
nec iam densa sacro quidquam de corpore silva
obtinet aut plenis fraudat ab exequiis.
cumque recensetis constaret partibus ille
corporis integri qui fuerat numerus,
nec purgata aliquid deberent avia toto
ex homine extersis frondibus et scopulis,
metando eligitur tumulo locus: ostia linquunt,
Roma placet, sanctos quae teneat cineres.
haud procul extremo culta ad pomeria vallo
mersa latebrosis crypta patet foveis:
huius in occultum gradibus via prona reflexis
ire per anfractus luce latente docet.
primas namque fores summo tenus intrat hiatu

---

[a] See note on 40.

[b] The *pomerium* was properly a line within the wall, which marked the boundary within which auspices could be taken. From this the name was applied to the strip of land between the line and the wall, and further extended to include a strip

was skilled in portraying green bushes had also figured the red blood in vermilion. One could see the parts torn asunder and lying scattered in disorder up and down at random. The artist had painted too his loving people walking after him in tears wherever the inconstant track showed his zigzag course. Stunned with grief, they were searching with their eyes as they went, and gathering the mangled flesh in their bosoms. One clasps the snowy head, cherishing the venerable white hair on his loving breast, while another picks up the shoulders, the severed hands, arms, elbows, knees, bare fragments of legs. With their garments also they wipe dry the soaking sand, so that no drop shall remain to dye the dust; and wherever blood adheres to the spikes on which its warm spray fell, they press a sponge on it and carry it all away.

Now the thick wood held no longer any part of the sacred body, nor cheated it of a full burial. The parts were reviewed and found to make the number belonging to the unmutilated body; the pathless ground being cleared, and the boughs and rocks wiped dry, had nothing of the whole man still to give up; and now a site was chosen on which to set a tomb. They left the river-mouth,[a] for Rome found favour with them as the place to keep the holy remains. Not far outside the wall, near the belt [b] of cultivation just beyond it, yawns a cave which goes deep down in dark pits. Into its hidden depths a downward path shows the way by turning, winding steps, with the help of light from a source unseen; for the light of day enters the first approach as far as

on the outside as well. (*Cf.* Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, V, 143, Livy, I, 44, 4–5.)

inlustratque dies limina vestibuli.
inde ubi progressu facili nigrescere visa est
nox obscura loci per specus ambiguum,
occurrunt celsis [1] inmissa foramina tectis,
quae iaciant claros antra super radios.
quamlibet ancipites texant hinc inde recessus
arta sub umbrosis atria porticibus,
at tamen excisi subter cava viscera montis
crebra terebrato fornice lux penetrat.
sic datur absentis per subterranea solis
cernere fulgorem luminibusque frui.
talibus Hippolyti corpus mandatur opertis,
propter ubi adposita est ara dicata Deo.
illa sacramenti donatrix mensa eademque
custos fida sui martyris adposita
servat ad aeterni spem vindicis ossa sepulcro,
pascit item sanctis Tibricolas dapibus.
mira loci pietas et prompta precantibus ara
spes hominum placida prosperitate iuvat.
hic corruptelis animique et corporis aeger
oravi quotiens stratus, opem merui.
quod laetor reditu, quod te, venerande sacerdos,
conplecti licitum est, scribo quod haec eadem,
Hippolyto scio me debere, Deus cui Christus
posse dedit, quod quis postulet, adnuere.
ipsa, illas animae exuvias quae continet intus,
aedicula argento fulgurat ex solido.
praefixit tabulas dives manus aequore levi
candentes, recavum quale nitet speculum,
nec Pariis contenta aditus obducere saxis

[1] *So Bergman's MSS.*; *editions before Bergman's have* caesis (" cut ").

---

[a] See Allard, *op. cit.*, Appendix D. [b] Marble.

the top of the cleft and illumines the entrance; then as you go forward easily you see the dark night of the place fill the mysterious cavern with blackness, but you find openings let into the roof far above, so as to throw bright rays down into the chasm. However doubtful you may feel of this fabric of narrow halls running back on either hand in darksome galleries, still through the holes pierced in the vault many a gleam of light makes its way down to the hollow interior of the disembowelled mount, and thus underground it is granted to see the brightness of a sun which is not there, and have the benefit of its light. Such is the place of concealment to which the body of Hippolytus was committed[a] and by it has been set an altar dedicated to God. That table both gives the sacrament and is set there as faithful guardian of its martyr; it keeps his bones in the tomb for the hope of their everlasting deliverer and feeds the dwellers on Tiber's banks with the holy food. Wonderful is the grace that attaches to the spot, and the altar, ever ready to receive its suppliants, fosters the hopes of men with kindly favour. Whenever I bowed in prayer here, a sick man diseased in soul and body both, I gained help. My glad return, my chance to embrace you, reverend priest, my writing these very words, I know that I owe to Hippolytus, to whom Christ our God has given power to grant one's request. The shrine itself which holds within it that body which the soul sloughed off, gleams with massive silver. On its front a rich hand has fixed plates whose smooth surface has a sheen like the brightness of a concave mirror, and not content to cover the approach with stones of Paros,[b] has added shining precious metals to orna-

addidit ornando clara talenta operi.
mane salutatum concurritur: omnis adorat
pubis; eunt, redeunt solis ad usque obitum.
conglobat in cuneum Latios simul ac peregrinos
permixtim populos religionis amor.
oscula perspicuo figunt inpressa metallo,
balsama defundunt, fletibus ora rigant.
iam cum se renovat decursis mensibus annus
natalemque diem passio festa refert,
quanta putas studiis certantibus agmina cogi,
quaeve celebrando vota coire Deo?
urbs augusta suos vomit effunditque Quirites,
una et patricios ambitione pari
confundit plebeia phalanx umbonibus aequis
discrimen procerum praecipitante fide.
nec minus Albanis acies se candida portis
explicat et longis ducitur ordinibus.
exultant fremitus variarum hinc inde viarum,
indigena et Picens plebs et Etrusca venit.
concurrit Samnitis atrox, habitator et altae
Campanus Capuae, iamque Nolanus adest.
quisque sua laetus cum coniuge dulcibus et cum
pigneribus rapidum carpere gestit iter.
vix capiunt patuli populorum gaudia campi,
haeret et in magnis densa cohors spatiis.
angustum tantis illud specus esse catervis
haud dubium est, ampla fauce licet pateat.
stat sed iuxta aliud, quod tanta frequentia templum
tunc adeat cultu nobile regifico,
parietibus celsum sublimibus atque superba

ment the work. In the morning people assemble to pay their respects; all that are grown up do reverence, coming and going till set of sun. The love of their religion masses Latins and strangers together in one general body. They print kisses on the clear metal, they pour down balsams, and wet their faces with their tears. And then when the months have run their course and the year begins afresh, when the festival of his passion brings again its anniversary, can you imagine what multitudes gather with emulous zeal, what prayers join together to honour God? The majestic city disgorges her Romans in a stream; with equal ardour patricians and plebeian host are jumbled together shoulder to shoulder, for the faith banishes distinctions of birth; and equally from Alba's gates the white-robed troops deploy and pass on in long lines. Loud sounds of rejoicing rise from diverse roads leading from different places; natives of Picenum and the people of Etruria come; the fierce Samnite and the Campanian dweller in lofty Capua meet together, and men of Nola too are there, everyone in happy mood with wife and dear children and eager to get quickly on the way. Scarcely can the broad plains hold the joyous multitudes; the close-packed company sticks fast even in the wide spaces. For these great throngs the cavern is clearly too confined, for all the wideness of its mouth. But there stands close by another church,[a] renowned for its princely decoration, for the great multitude to enter then, a lofty church with towering walls, and a great one by reason of

[a] This development was necessary in the case of many martyrs for the accommodation of the large numbers of pilgrims. See Allard, *op. cit.*, pp. 365 ff.

maiestate potens muneribusque opulens.
ordo columnarum geminus laquearia tecti
sustinet auratis suppositus trabibus.
adduntur graciles tecto breviore recessus,
qui laterum seriem iugiter exsinuent.
at medios aperit tractus via latior alti
culminis exsurgens editiore apice.
fronte sub adversa gradibus sublime tribunal
tollitur, antistes praedicat unde Deum.
plena laborantes aegre domus accipit undas,
artaque confertis aestuat in foribus,
maternum pandens gremium, quo condat alumnos
ac foveat fetos adcumulata sinus.
si bene commemini, colit hunc pulcherrima Roma
Idibus Augusti mensis, ut ipsa vocat
prisco more diem, quem te quoque, sancte magister,
annua festa inter dinumerare velim.
crede, salutigeros feret hic venerantibus ortus
lucis honoratae praemia restituens.
inter sollemnes Cypriani vel Chelidoni
Eulaliaeque dies currat et iste tibi.
sic te pro populo, cuius tibi credita vita est,
orantem Christus audiat omnipotens;
sic tibi de pleno lupus excludatur ovili,
agna nec ulla tuum capta gregem minuat;
sic me gramineo remanentem denique campo

[a] The basilica, a type of public building of which there were many examples in pre-Christian Rome and other towns, serving as meeting-places for citizens, courts of justice and for

its proud grandeur, and gifts have made it rich. A double row of pillars supporting gilded beams holds up the panelled roof, and there are also slender aisles with lower roof which stand back and widen the sides all along their length, while up the middle there stretches a broader passage-way making open space under a high roof, rising to a loftier top.[a] Facing you, at the top of some steps rises the pulpit from which the priest proclaims God. The building even when it is full scarcely admits the struggling waves of people, and there is turmoil in the confined space at the packed doorway when she opens her motherly arms to receive and comfort her children and they pile up on her teeming bosom.

If I remember aright, beauteous Rome honours this martyr on the Ides [b] of August, as she herself names the day in the old fashion, and I should like you too, holy teacher, to count it among your yearly festivals. Assuredly he will bring healthful days to those who venerate him, and give them in return the reward for honouring his day. Along with the festivals of Cyprian and Chelidonius and Eulalia let this day too come round for you. So may Christ the almighty hear your prayers for the people whose life has been committed to your care; so may your sheepfold be full and the wolf shut out from it and your flock never reduced by his seizing a lamb; so, when I am left behind like a sick sheep on the

other purposes, became the model for Christian churches. The plan was not always the same, but that described here, in which the central part was higher than the side aisles, was characteristic of most basilicas.

[b] The 13th.

sedulus aegrotam pastor ovem referas;
sic, cum lacteolis caulas conpleveris agnis,
raptus et ipse sacro sis comes Hippolyto.

XII

Passio Apostolorum Petri et Pauli.

" Plus solito coeunt ad gaudia: dic, amice, quid sit.
Romam per omnem cursitant ovantque."
" Festus apostolici nobis redit hic dies triumphi,
Pauli atque Petri nobilis cruore.
unus utrumque dies, pleno tamen innovatus anno,
vidit superba morte laureatum.
scit Tiberina palus, quae flumine lambitur propinquo,
binis dicatum caespitem tropaeis,
et crucis et gladii testis, quibus inrigans easdem
bis fluxit imber sanguinis per herbas.
prima Petrum rapuit sententia legibus Neronis
pendere iussum praeminente ligno.
ille tamen veritus celsae decus aemulando mortis
ambire tanti gloriam Magistri
exigit ut pedibus mersum caput inprimant supinis,
quo spectet imum stipitem cerebro.

---

[a] Neither the day nor the year of the martyrdom of either apostle is certainly known. There were different traditions, the commonest saying that they suffered in the *same* year. Their festivals had come to be celebrated on the same day (June 29) perhaps because on that day, at the beginning of Valerian's persecution in 258, the remains of both were temporarily removed from their resting places for greater security.

[b] This may be taken as referring to a wide area in the vicinity of the Tiber, not implying that Prudentius' informant thought

grass of the field, may you as a zealous shepherd bring me home; so, when you have filled your pens with milk-white lambs, may you too be taken up and join company with holy Hippolytus.

XII

The Passion of the Apostles Peter and Paul.

"People are gathering more than is usual for rejoicings. Tell me, friend, what it means. All over Rome they are running about in exultation."

"Today we have the festival of the apostles' triumph coming round again, a day made famous by the blood of Paul and Peter. The same day, but recurring after a full year,[a] saw each of them win the laurel by a splendid death. The marshland of Tiber, washed by the near-by river, knows that its turf was hallowed by two victories, for it was witness both of cross and sword, by which a rain of blood twice flowed over the same grass and soaked it.[b] First the sentence of doom carried off Peter, when under the orders of Nero it was commanded that he should hang on a high tree. But he, because he feared to court the glory of his great Master by emulating the honour of being lifted up to die, insisted that they should set his head down, his feet upwards, so that the top of his head should look

that both apostles actually suffered on the same spot. It is most probable that St. Peter was crucified at Nero's Circus on the Vatican Hill, and there is an ancient tradition that St. Paul was beheaded at Aquae Salviae (now Tre Fontane) near the Via Ostiensis and at some distance from Rome. *Cf.* lines 45 f. and see Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome,* pp. 127, 156.

figitur ergo manus subter, sola versus in cacumen,
hoc mente maior, quo minor figura.
noverat ex humili caelum citius solere adiri;
deiecit ora spiritum daturus.
ut teres orbis iter flexi rota percucurrit anni
diemque eundem sol reduxit ortus,
evomit in iugulum Pauli Nero fervidum furorem,
iubet feriri gentium magistrum.
ipse prius sibimet finem cito dixerat futurum:
'ad Christum eundum est, iam resolvor,' inquit.
nec mora, protrahitur, poenae datur, inmolatur ense;
non hora vatem, non dies fefellit.
dividit ossa duum Tybris sacer ex utraque ripa,
inter sacrata dum fluit sepulcra.
dextra Petrum regio tectis tenet aureis receptum
canens oliva, murmurans fluento.
namque supercilio saxi liquor ortus excitavit
fontem perennem chrismatis feracem.
nunc pretiosa ruit per marmora lubricatque clivum,
donec virenti fluctuet colymbo.
interior tumuli pars est, ubi lapsibus sonoris
stagnum nivali volvitur profundo.
omnicolor vitreas pictura superne tinguit undas,
musci relucent et virescit aurum
cyaneusque latex umbram trahit inminentis ostri:
credas moveri fluctibus lacunar.

---

[a] *Cf.* II Timothy iv, 6.

[b] Constantine built a church over the tomb of St. Peter. It was replaced by the present St. Peter's in the 16th century. See Lanciani, *op. cit.*, pp. 132–158.

[c] A baptistery was constructed by Pope Damasus in the

towards the bottom of the post. So he had his hands fastened below and his feet towards the top, his spirit nobler in proportion to the humbling posture. He knew that heaven is wont to be attained more quickly from a lowly start, and lowered his face to give up his soul. When the round wheel of the turning year had run full circle and the rising sun brought again the same day, Nero disgorged his burning rage on the neck of Paul, ordering the teacher of the gentiles to be beheaded. He had himself foretold that his end was soon to come: "I must go to Christ, the time of my release is come," he said.[a] With no reprieve he was taken forth, put to the penalty, slain with the sword; neither the hour nor the day belied his prophecy. Tiber separates the bones of the two and both its banks are consecrated as it flows between the hallowed tombs. The quarter on the right bank took Peter into its charge and keeps him in a golden dwelling,[b] where there is the grey of olive-trees and the sound of a stream; for water rising from the brow of a rock has revealed a perennial spring which makes them fruitful in the holy oil. Now it runs over costly marbles, gliding smoothly down the slope till it billows in a green basin. There is an inner part of the memorial where the stream falls with a loud sound and rolls along in a deep, cold pool.[c] Painting in diverse hues colours the glassy waves from above, so that mosses seem to glisten and the gold is tinged with green, while the water turns dark blue where it takes on the semblance of the overhanging purple, and one would think the ceiling was dancing

course of his operations for draining the Vatican Hill. See his *Epigrammata*, ed. Ihm, no. 4, and Lanciani, p. 139.

pastor oves alit ipse illic gelidi rigore fontis,
videt sitire quas fluenta Christi.
parte alia titulum Pauli via servat Ostiensis,
qua stringit amnis caespitem sinistrum.
regia pompa loci est; princeps bonus has sacravit arces
lusitque magnis ambitum talentis.
bratteolas trabibus sublevit, ut omnis aurulenta
lux esset intus, ceu iubar sub ortu.
subdidit et Parias fulvis laquearibus columnas,
distinguit illic quas quaternus ordo.
tum camiros hyalo insigni varie cucurrit arcus:
sic prata vernis floribus renident.
ecce duas fidei summo Patre conferente dotes,
urbi colendas quas dedit togatae.
aspice, per bifidas plebs Romula funditur plateas,
lux in duobus fervet una festis.
nos ad utrumque tamen gressu properemus incitato,
et his et illis perfruamur hymnis.
ibimus ulterius qua fert via pontis Hadriani,
laevam deinde fluminis petemus.
transtiberina prius solvit sacra pervigil sacerdos,
mox huc recurrit duplicatque vota.
haec didicisse sat est Romae tibi: tu domum reversus
diem bifestum sic colas memento."

---

[a] The church erected by Constantine was rebuilt on a grander scale under Theodosius and his son Honorius. See Lanciani, pp. 150 ff.

[b] The Pons Aelius, built by Hadrian, now Ponte S. Angelo.

on the waves. There the shepherd himself nurtures his sheep with the ice-cold water of the pool, for he sees them thirsting for the rivers of Christ.

" Elsewhere the Ostian Road keeps the memorial church of Paul, where the river grazes the land on its left bank. The splendour of the place is princely, for our good emperor [a] dedicated this seat and decorated its whole extent with great wealth. He laid plates on the beams so as to make all the light within golden like the sun's radiance at its rising, and supported the gold-panelled ceiling on pillars of Parian marble set out there in four rows. Then he covered the curves of the arches with splendid glass of different hues, like meadows that are bright with flowers in the spring.

" There you have two dowers of the faith, the gift of the Father supreme, which He has given to the city of the toga to reverence. See, the people of Romulus goes pouring through the streets two separate ways, for the same day is busy with two festivals. But let us hasten with quickened step to both and in each get full enjoyment of the songs of praise. We shall go further on, where the way leads over Hadrian's bridge,[b] and afterwards seek the left bank of the river. The sleepless bishop performs the sacred ceremonies first across the Tiber,[c] then hurries back to this side and repeats his offerings.[d] It is enough for you to have learned all this at Rome; when you return home, remember to keep this day of two festivals as you see it here."

[c] At St. Peter's.

[d] At St. Paul's. Owing to the great distance this double service was afterwards given up and the commemoration of St. Paul transferred to the next day.

XIII

Passio Cypriani.

Punica terra tulit, quo splendeat omne quidquid
usquam est,
inde domo Cyprianum, sed decus orbis et magistrum.
est proprius patriae martyr, sed amore et ore noster.
incubat in Libya sanguis, sed ubique lingua pollet,
sola superstes agit de corpore, sola obire nescit,
dum genus esse hominum Christus sinet et vigere
mundum.
dum liber ullus erit, dum scrinia sacra litterarum,
te leget omnis amans Christum, tua, Cypriane, discet.
Spiritus ille Dei, qui fluxerat auctor in prophetas,
fontibus eloquii te caelitus actus inrigavit.
o nive candidius linguae genus! o novum saporem!
ut liquor ambrosius cor mitigat, inbuit palatum,
sedem animae penetrat, mentem fovet et pererrat
artus,
sic Deus interius sentitur et inditur medullis.
unde bonum subitum terris dederis, Pater, revela.
derat apostolicis scriptis opulentus executor:
eligitur locuples facundia, quae doceret orbem
quaeque voluminibus Pauli famulata disputaret,
quo mage cruda hominum praecordia perpolita nossent
sive timoris opus seu mystica vel profunda Christi.
unus erat iuvenum doctissimus artibus sinistris,

---

[a] Bishop of Carthage and a voluminous writer. Before his conversion he had been known as an orator and teacher of rhetoric, and his literary style was highly esteemed. He suffered martyrdom in 258.

[b] Perhaps the law of the Old Testament as contrasted by St. Paul with the Gospel of Christ; or possibly "the fear of the Lord" as being "the beginning of wisdom."

XIII

The Passion of Cyprian.[a]

The Punic land bore Cyprian to give lustre to the whole earth everywhere; that was the home he came from, but he was to be the glory and the teacher of the world. As martyr he belongs to his native country, but by his love and speech he is ours. His blood rests in Africa, but his tongue is potent everywhere; it alone of all his body still survives in life, it alone cannot die, as long as Christ shall suffer the race of men to exist and the world to function. As long as there shall be any book, any collections of sacred writings, every lover of Christ will read thee, Cyprian, and learn thy teachings. The Spirit of God, which formerly flowed into the prophets to inspire them, was sent from heaven and flooded thee with streams of eloquence. What speech is thine! It is purer than snow, and of a new savour! Like an ambrosial liquor which soothes the heart, bathing the palate and penetrating to the seat of the soul, while it sustains the spirit and spreads through the whole frame, it makes us feel God within us entering into our marrows. Show us, O Father, from whence Thou didst give this unexpected blessing to the world.

The apostolic writings wanted a powerful interpreter, and a richly-furnished eloquence was chosen out to teach the world and to serve the works of Paul as an expositor, whereby the raw minds of men should be refined and come to know better both the work of fear [b] and the deep mysteries of Christ. He was pre-eminent among young men for skill in perverse

fraude pudicitiam perfringere, nil sacrum putare,
saepe etiam magicum cantamen inire per sepulcra,
quo geniale tori ius solveret aestuante nupta.
luxuriae rabiem tantae cohibet repente Christus,
discutit et tenebras de pectore, pellit et furorem,
inplet amore sui, dat credere, dat pudere facti.
iamque figura alia est quam quae fuit oris et nitoris:
exuitur tenui vultus cute, transit in severam,
deflua caesaries conpescitur ad breves capillos,
ipse modesta loqui, spem quaerere, regulam tenere,
vivere iustitia Christi, penetrare dogma nostrum.
his igitur meritis dignissimus usque episcopale
provehitur solium doctor, capit et sedile summum.
Valerianus opum princeps erat atque Gallienus;
constituere simul poenam capitis Deum fatenti.
milia terrigenum spurcissima iusserant sacrari.
contra animos populi doctor Cyprianus incitabat,
ne quis ab egregiae virtutis honore discreparet,
neu fidei pretium quis sumere degener timeret.
esse levem cruciatum, si modo conferas futura,
quae Deus ipse viris intermina fortibus spopondit;
mercc doloris emi spem luminis et diem perennem,
omne malum volucri cum tempore transvolare cursim.
nil grave, quod peragi finis facit et quiete donat.
se fore principium pulchrae necis et ducem cruoris,

---

[a] Cyprian of Carthage is here confused with a certain Cyprian of Antioch.
[b] See note on VI, 41.

arts, would violate modesty by a trick, count nothing holy, and often practise a magic spell amid the tombs to raise passion in a wife and break the law of wedlock.[a] But all at once Christ checked this great rage of self-indulgence, scattered the darkness from his heart, drove out its frenzy, and filled it with love of Him, giving him the gift of faith and of shame for his past behaviour. And now his face and his elegant style changed from their former fashion; his countenance lost the softness of its skin and went over to an austere look, the flowing locks were clipped short, his speech was sober, he looked for the hope of Christ, holding to his rule, living according to his righteousness, and seeking to fathom our doctrine. So by these merits becoming most worthy he was advanced to the bishop's throne to be teacher and took the highest seat.

Valerian and Gallienus [b] were then at the head of power, and together they decreed sentence of death on any that confessed God. They commanded that a multitude of unclean earth-born creatures be worshipped as divine; but Cyprian by his teaching was rousing the spirit of his people against them, urging that none should fall short of the honour due to outstanding courage nor lapse and fear to take the reward of faith. "The torture is but light," he told them "if only you compare with it the things that shall be, the unending joys which God himself has promised to men if they are brave. The pain is but the price we pay for the hope of light and eternal day; all the ill passes quickly away with fleeting time, and nothing is grievous to which an end brings completion and gives rest." He himself, he said, would be the first to go to a noble death and be

seque caput gladio submittere, sanguinem dicare;
qui sociare animam Christo velit, ut comes sequatur.
his ubi corda virum Christo calefacta praeparavit,
ducitur ante alios proconsule perfurente vinctus.
antra latent Tyriae Carthaginis abditis reposta,
conscia tartareae caliginis, abdicata soli.
clausus in his specubus sanctus Cyprianus et catena
nexus utramque manum nomen Patris invocat supremi:
" omnipotens genitor Christi Deus et creator orbis,
Christe parens hominis, quem diligis et vetas perire,
ille ego, vipereis quem tu bonus oblitum venenis,
criminibus variis tinctum, miseratus abluisti
iamque tuus fieri mandas, fio Cyprianus alter
et novus ex veteri nec iam reus aut nocens, ut ante.
si luteum facili charismate pectus expiasti,
vise libens tenebris ergastula caeca dissipatis,
eripe corporeo de carcere vinculisque mundi
hanc animam, liceat fuso tibi sanguine inmolari,
ne qua ferum reprimat clementia iudicem, tyranni
neu sciat invidia mitescere, gloriam negare.
da quoque ne quis iners sit de grege quem tuum regebam,
ne cadat inpatiens poenae titubetve quis tuorum,
incolumem ut numerum reddam tibi debitumque solvam."
vocibus his Dominum permoverat; influebat inde

[a] So called because it was founded by Phoenicians from Tyre.

their leader in suffering bloodshed; he submitted his head to the sword and made an offering of his blood; whosoever would unite his soul to Christ, let him follow in his company. And when with such words he had kindled men's hearts and made them ready for Christ, he was taken away in bonds before all others, for the governor was in a furious rage. There is a dungeon hidden away at Tyrian[a] Carthage, withdrawn from view, a place that knows the darkness of hell and is disowned by the sun. Shut up in this cavern, both his hands bound with a chain, the holy Cyprian called on the name of the most high Father: "Almighty God, Father of Christ and creator of the world, and Christ the father of men, whom Thou lovest and dost not suffer to perish, I am he on whom Thou in thy goodness didst take compassion when I was all defiled with the venom of serpents[1] and stained with many a sin, and didst wash me clean and from henceforth bid me be thine, and I became another Cyprian, a new man in place of the old, no longer the guilty sinner I was before. If by thy ready grace Thou didst cleanse my vile heart, be pleased to visit the dark prison-house and scatter the gloom. Take this soul of mine out of the prison of the body and the bondage of the world; let me shed my blood in sacrifice to Thee; let no forbearance curb my judge's cruelty, nor the persecutor's hatred be able to grow gentle and deny me the glory. Grant too that none of the flock which I ruled for Thee be backward, that none of thy people fail or falter from being unable to bear the suffering, that I may give back to Thee the number undiminished and pay Thee what I owe." With these words he prevailed upon the Lord, and thereafter the Spirit flowed

Spiritus in populum Carthaginis, auctor acrioris
ingenii, stimulis ut pectora subditis calerent
ad decus egregium discrimine sanguinis petendum,
non trepidare docens nec cedere nec dolore vinci,
laudis amore rapi, Christum sapere et fidem tueri.
fama refert foveam campi in medio patere iussam,
calce vaporifera summos prope margines refertam;
saxa recocta vomunt ignem niveusque pulvis ardet,
urere tacta potens et mortifer ex odore flatus.
adpositam memorant aram fovea stetisse summa
lege sub hac, salis aut micam, iecur aut suis litarent
Christicolae, aut mediae sponte inruerent in ima
fossae.
prosiluere alacres cursu rapido simul trecenti,
gurgite pulvereo mersos liquor aridus voravit
praecipitemque globum fundo tenus inplicavit imo.
corpora candor habet, candor vehit ad superna
mentes,
"Candida Massa" dehinc dici meruit per omne
saeclum.

---

[a] This episode is entirely separate from the case of St. Cyprian, and Prudentius says expressly that here he depends on oral tradition ("fama refert"), whereas the martyrdom of Cyprian is well documented (see the *Acta Proconsularia* in Hartel's edition of Cyprian, Part iii, Vienna, 1871, pp. cx ff.). Augustine in his Exposition of Psalm xlix gives the number of these martyrs as "more than 153," but his point is only that they outnumbered the 153 fishes of John xxi, 6–11. He does not mention the manner of their death, but one of the "suppositious" sermons attributed to him (no. 317) implies that they were put to death by the sword. The place of their death was Utica, not Carthage. They came to be known as "Martyres Candidae Massae," and Augustine (in

in upon the people of Carthage inspiring a bolder temper, so that under his prompting their hearts might be warmed to seek illustrious honour by the hazarding of their blood, teaching them not to be afraid nor give way nor be overcome by the pain, but to be swept on by the love of glory, to think like Christ and keep the faith.

Tradition tells that there was a pit which had been opened by command in the midst of a piece of level ground and filled nearly to the brim with smoking lime, the heated stones pouring out fire, the snow-white dust hot, capable of burning anything it touched and killing with the smell of its breath. They say an altar was set up by the top of the pit and the order was that the Christians must either offer in sacrifice a grain of salt or a sow's liver, or else throw themselves into the depths in the midst of the pit. Three hundred together sprang forward eagerly with a quick rush and sank in the powdery gulf, where the dry sea swallowed them, enveloping the plunging mass in its lowest depths. Whiteness possesses their bodies, and whiteness carries their souls to heaven. "The White Throng" justly gained its name from that day forth for ever more.[a]

Sermon 306) explains the phrase as derived from their large number (*massa*) and the splendour of their cause (*candida*), whereas Prudentius makes the adjective refer to the whiteness of the lime which covered them. It has been suggested (*cf.* Allard, *op. cit.*, p. 116) that they were massacred and the bodies buried in quicklime, and that this gave rise to the tradition which Prudentius knew. It has also been conjectured that Candida Massa may have been a place-name ("Whitelands"?), since in later Latin *massa* often means a demesne; but if this had been the force of the name Augustine would surely have known it.

laetior interea iam Thascius ob diem suorum
sistitur indomiti proconsulis eminus furori.
edere iussus erat quid viveret: " unicultor," inquit,
" trado salutiferi mysteria consecrata Christi."
ille sub haec: " satis est iam criminis, ipse confitetur
Thascius, ipse Iovis fulmen negat. expedite ferrum,
carnifices, gladio poenam luat hostis idolorum."
ille Deo meritas grates agit et canit triumphans.
flevit abire virum maesta Africa, quo docente facta est
cultior, eloquio cuius sibi docta gloriatur;
mox tumulum lacrimans struxit cineresque consecravit.
desine flere bonum tantum, tenet ille regna caeli,
nec minus involitat terris nec ab hoc recedit orbe:
disserit, eloquitur, tractat, docet, instruit, prophetat.
nec Libyae populos tantum regit; exit usque in ortum
solis et usque obitum, Gallos fovet, inbuit Britannos,
praesidet Hesperiae, Christum serit ultimis Hiberis,
denique doctor humi est, idem quoque martyr in supernis,
instruit hic homines, illinc pia dona dat patronus.

Meanwhile Thascius,[a] gladdened by his people's end, was brought out[b] to face the proconsul's ungovernable rage. Bidden to declare his way of life, he said: "I am a worshipper of one God, and I teach the holy mysteries of Christ our Saviour." Whereupon the other cried: "Guilt enough! Thascius himself admits it, and denies Jupiter's thunderbolt. Get ready the steel, ye executioners. Let this enemy of idols pay the penalty by the sword." Cyprian gave God due thanks and sang in triumph.

Africa wept in sorrow at the departure of the man whose teaching advanced her in cultivation, and of whose eloquence she boasts of having been the pupil. Afterwards with tears she raised a tomb and consecrated his ashes. Weep no more for this great blessing! He has attained to the realms of heaven, yet none the less he moves over the earth and does not leave this world. He still discourses, still holds forth, expounding, teaching, instructing, prophesying; and not only does he direct the peoples of Libya, but goes forth to the east and the west, nurturing the Gauls, training the Britons, keeping guard over Italy, spreading the knowledge of Christ in farthest Spain. Indeed he is both teacher on earth and martyr too in heaven; here he instructs men, from there as their patron gives them gifts in love.

[a] Cyprian. In one of his letters (no. 66) he describes himself as "Cyprianus, qui et Thascius."

[b] To a country house outside Carthage where the governor was in residence (see the *Acta Proconsularia*, 2).

XIV

Passio Agnetis

Agnes sepulcrum est Romulea in domo,
fortis puellae, martyris inclytae.
conspectu in ipso condita turrium
servat salutem virgo Quiritium,
nec non et ipsos protegit advenas
puro ac fideli pectore supplices.
duplex corona est praestita martyri:
intactum ab omni crimine virginal,
mortis deinde gloria liberae.
aiunt iugali vix habilem toro
primis in annis forte puellulam
Christo calentem fortiter inpiis
iussis renisam, quo minus idolis
addicta sacram desereret fidem.
temptata multis nam prius artibus,
nunc ore blandi iudicis inlice,
nunc saevientis carnificis minis,
stabat feroci robore pertinax
corpusque duris excruciatibus
ultro offerebat non renuens mori.
tum trux tyrannus: " si facile est," ait,
" poenam subactis ferre doloribus
et vita vilis spernitur, at pudor
carus dicatae virginitatis est.
hanc in lupanar trudere publicum
certum est, ad aram ni caput applicat
ac de Minerva iam veniam rogat,
quam virgo pergit temnere virginem.
omnis iuventus inruet et novum
ludibriorum mancipium petet."
" haud," inquit Agnes, " inmemor est ita

XIV

The Passion of Agnes [a]

The grave of Agnes is in the home of Romulus; [b] a brave lass she, and a glorious martyr. Laid within sight of their palaces, this maiden watches over the well-being of Rome's citizens, and she protects strangers too when they pray with pure and faithful heart. A double crown of martyrdom was vouchsafed to her, the keeping of her virginity untouched by any sin, and then the glory of her dying by her own will.

They say it happened that as a young girl in her earliest years, scarce yet marriageable, but warm with the love of Christ, she bravely withstood godless commands, refusing to make herself over to idols and desert her holy faith. For though she was first assailed with many arts, now with seductive words from a smooth-tongued judge, and again with threats of cruel torture, she stood firm with strength indomitable, and even offered her body for the sore torment, not refusing to die. Then said the savage persecutor: "If it is easy for her to overcome the pains and bear the suffering and she scorns life as of little worth, still the purity of her dedicated maidenhood is dear to her. I am resolved to thrust her into a public brothel unless she lays her head on the altar and now asks pardon of Minerva, the virgin whom she, a virgin too, persists in slighting. All the young men will rush in to seek the new slave of their sport." "Nay," says Agnes, "Christ is not so forgetful of his

[a] The date of her martyrdom is uncertain; it may have been earlier than Diocletian's persecution.

[b] I.e. Rome.

Christus suorum, perdat ut aureum
nobis pudorem, nos quoque deserat.
praesto est pudicis nec patitur sacrae
integritatis munera pollui.
ferrum inpiabis sanguine, si voles,
non inquinabis membra libidine."
sic elocutam publicitus iubet
flexu in plateae sistere virginem.
stantem refugit maesta frequentia,
aversa vultus, ne petulantius
quisquam verendum conspiceret locum.
intendit unus forte procaciter
os in puellam nec trepidat sacram
spectare formam lumine lubrico.
en ales ignis fulminis in modum
vibratur ardens atque oculos ferit.
caecus corusco lumine corruit
atque in plateae pulvere palpitat.
tollunt sodales seminecem solo
verbisque deflent exequialibus.
ibat triumphans virgo Deum Patrem
Christumque sacro carmine concinens,
quod sub profani labe periculi
castum lupanar nec violabile
experta victrix virginitas foret.
sunt qui rogatam rettulerint preces
fudisse Christo, redderet ut reo
lucem iacenti: tunc iuveni halitum
vitae innovatum visibus integris.
primum sed Agnes hunc habuit gradum
caelestis aulae, mox alius datur
ascensus; iram nam furor incitat
hostis cruenti: "vincor," ait gemens,
"i, stringe ferrum, miles, et exere

own as to let our precious chastity be lost and abandon us. He stands by the chaste and does not suffer the gift of holy purity to be defiled. You may stain your sword with my blood if you will, but you will not pollute my body with lust." When she had thus spoken he gave order to place the maid publicly at a corner of the square;[a] but while she stood there the crowd avoided her in sorrow, turning their faces away lest any look too rudely on her modesty. One, as it chanced, did aim an impudent gaze at the girl, not fearing to look on her sacred figure with a lustful eye; when behold, a fire came flying like a thunderbolt and with its quivering blaze struck his eyes, and he fell blinded by the gleaming flash and lay convulsed in the dust of the square. His companions lifted him from the ground between life and death and bewailed him with words of lamentation for the departed. But the maiden passed in triumph, singing of God the Father and Christ in holy song because, when an unholy peril fell on her, her virginity won the day, finding the brothel chaste and pure. Some have told that being asked she poured forth prayers to Christ that He would restore sight to the prostrate sinner, and that then the breath of life was renewed in the young man and his vision made perfect.

But this was only the first step that Agnes took towards the court of heaven; then she was granted a second ascent. For frenzy was working up her blood-thirsty enemy's wrath. "I am losing the battle," he complained. "Go draw the sword,

[a] Tradition said it was one of the arcades of the Stadium of Domitian in the Campus Martius, on which cf. the *Augustan History, Elagabalus*, 26.

praecepta summi regia principis."
ut vidit Agnes stare trucem virum
mucrone nudo, laetior haec ait:
" exulto talis quod potius venit
vesanus, atrox, turbidus armiger,
quam si veniret languidus ac tener
mollisque ephebus tinctus aromate,
qui me pudoris funere perderet.
hic, hic amator iam, fateor, placet:
ibo inruentis gressibus obviam,
nec demorabor vota calentia:
ferrum in papillas omne recepero
pectusque ad imum vim gladii traham.
sic nupta Christo transiliam poli
omnes tenebras aethere celsior.
aeterne rector, divide ianuas
caeli obseratas terrigenis prius,
ac te sequentem, Christe, animam voca,
cum virginalem, tum Patris hostiam."
sic fata Christum vertice cernuo
supplex adorat, vulnus ut inminens
cervix subiret prona paratius.
ast ille tantam spem peragit manu,
uno sub ictu nam caput amputat;
sensum doloris mors cita praevenit.
exutus inde spiritus emicat
liberque in auras exilit. angeli
saepsere euntem tramite candido.
miratur orbem sub pedibus situm,
spectat tenebras ardua subditas
ridetque solis quod rota circuit,
quod mundus omnis volvit et inplicat,
rerum quod atro turbine vivitur,
quod vana saecli mobilitas rapit:

soldier, and give effect to our lord the emperor's sovereign commands." When Agnes saw the grim figure standing there with his naked sword her gladness increased and she said: "I rejoice that there comes a man like this, a savage, cruel, wild man-at-arms, rather than a listless, soft, womanish youth bathed in perfume, coming to destroy me with the death of my honour. This lover, this one at last, I confess it, pleases me. I shall meet his eager steps half-way and not put off his hot desires. I shall welcome the whole length of his blade into my bosom, drawing the sword-blow to the depths of my breast; and so as Christ's bride I shall o'erleap all the darkness of the sky and rise higher than the ether. O eternal ruler, open the gates of heaven which formerly were barred against the children of earth, and call, O Christ, a soul that follows Thee, a virgin's soul and a sacrifice to the Father." So saying she bowed her head and humbly worshipped Christ, so that her bending neck should be readier to suffer the impending blow; and the executioner's hand fulfilled her great hope, for at one stroke he cut off her head and swift death forestalled the sense of pain. Now the disembodied spirit springs forth and leaps in freedom into the air, and angels are round her as she passes along the shining path. She marvels at the world that lies beneath her feet; as she mounts on high she looks at the darkness below and laughs at the circling of the sun's orb, the turning and intertwining of all the universe, the life that is lived in the black whirlwind of circumstance, the

reges, tyrannos, imperia et gradus
pompasque honorum stulta tumentium,
argenti et auri vim rabida siti
cunctis petitam per varium nefas,
splendore multo structa habitacula,
inlusa pictae vestis inania,
iram, timorem, vota, pericula,
nunc triste longum, nunc breve gaudium,
livoris atri fumificas faces,
nigrescit unde spes hominum et decus,
et, quod malorum taetrius omnium est,
gentilitatis sordida nubila.
haec calcat Agnes ac pede proterit
stans et draconis calce premens caput,
terrena mundi qui ferus omnia
spargit venenis mergit et inferis;
nunc virginali perdomitus solo
cristas cerebri deprimit ignei
nec victus audet tollere verticem.
cingit coronis interea Deus
frontem duabus martyris innubae:
unam decemplex edita sexies
merces perenni lumine conficit,
centenus extat fructus in altera.
  o virgo felix, o nova gloria,
caelestis arcis nobilis incola,
intende nostris conluvionibus
vultum gemello cum diademate,
cui posse soli cunctiparens dedit
castum vel ipsum reddere fornicem.
purgabor oris propitiabilis
fulgore, nostrum si iecur inpleas.
nil non pudicum est quod pia visere
dignaris almo vel pede tangere.

vanities that the inconstant world seizes on, kings, despots, power and rank, the pomp of dignitaries swollen with foolish pride, the masses of silver and gold which all seek after with a furious thirst by every wicked means, the gorgeously built dwellings, the empty vanities of fancily embroidered garments, anger, fear, desires, hazards, the alternations of long sadness and short-lived joy, the smoking brands of black spite that darken men's hopes and honour, and the foulest of all their ills, the filthy clouds of paganism. All this Agnes tramples on and treads under foot as she stands and with her heel bears down on the head of the fierce serpent which bespatters all earthly things in the world with his venom and plunges them in hell; but now that he is subdued by a virgin's foot he lowers the crests on his fiery head and in defeat dares not to lift it up. Meanwhile with two crowns God encircles the unwedded martyr's brow; recompense issuing sixty-fold from eternal light makes the one, profit an hundredfold is in the other.

O happy virgin, glory unknown before, noble dweller in the height of heaven, on our gathered impurities turn thy face with thy twin diadems, thou to whom alone the Father of all has granted the power to make a very brothel pure! I shall be cleansed by the brightness of thy gracious face if thou wilt fill my heart. Nothing is impure which thou dost deign to visit in love or to touch with thy restoring foot.

TITULI HISTORIARUM[1] (DITTOCHAEON)

I. de Adam et Eva

Eva columba fuit tunc candida; nigra deinde
facta per anguinum malesuada fraude venenum
tinxit et innocuum maculis sordentibus Adam;
dat nudis ficulna draco mox tegmina victor.

II. de Abel et Cain

Fratrum sacra Deus nutu distante duorum
aestimat accipiens viva et terrena refutans.
rusticus invidia pastorem sternit: in Abel
forma animae exprimitur, caro nostra in munere
Cain.

[1] *The title is doubtful. Editions before that of Bergman give* Dittochaeon *or* Dittochaeum *or, less commonly,* Diptychon. *The latter is a conjecture, the former has some authority; but of Bergman's twelve MSS. five give no title, three give* Tituli Historiarum, *one describes the verses as* Tituli, *three* (*A B M*) *do not have these verses at all. The headings of the separate quatrains vary considerably in the MSS.*

[a] Scenes from the Old and New Testaments depicted on the walls of a church. Paulinus of Nola (353–431) describes a church which was decorated in this way (Carmen XXVII,

LINES TO BE INSCRIBED UNDER SCENES FROM HISTORY[a]

(TWOFOLD NOURISHMENT)

I. Adam and Eve

Eve was then white as a dove, but afterwards she was blackened by the venom of the serpent through his deceitful tempting, and with foul blots she stained the innocent Adam. Then the victorious serpent gives them coverings of fig-leaves for their nakedness.[b]

II. Abel and Cain

God's pleasure appraises differently the offerings of two brothers, accepting the living and rejecting the products of the earth. The farmer from jealousy strikes down the shepherd. In Abel is shown forth the figure of the soul, our flesh in the offering of Cain.[c]

511 ff.), and archaeology has revealed an example dating from before the middle of the 3rd century at Dura-Europos in Syria where the baptistery had paintings of this kind (see Rostovtzeff, *Dura-Europos and its Art*, pp. 130–2 and plate XXVIII).

[b] Genesis iii.

[c] Genesis iv.

III. de Noe et Diluvio

Nuntia diluvii iam decrescentis ad arcam
ore columba refert ramum viridantis olivae.
corvus enim ingluvie per foeda cadavera captus
haeserat; illa datae revehit nova gaudia pacis.

IV. de Abraham et Hospitio eius

Hospitium hoc Domini est, ilex ubi frondea Mambrae
armentale senis protexit culmen; in ista
risit Sarra casa subolis sibi gaudia sera
ferri et decrepitum sic credere posse maritum.

V. Monumentum Sarrae

Abraham mercatus agrum, cui conderet ossa
coniugis, in terris quoniam peregrina moratur
iustitia atque fides: hoc illi milibus emptum
spelaeum, sanctae requies ubi parta favillae est.

VI. Somnium Pharaonis

Bis septem spicae, vaccae totidem Pharaoni
per somnum visae portendunt dispare forma
uberis atque famis duo per septennia tempus
instare; hoc solvit patriarcha interprete Christo.

---

[a] *Cf.* Genesis viii, 7–11. Augustine (*Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*, I, 13) says the question was often asked what became of the raven, since the dove sent out after it returned because she "found no rest for the sole of her foot," and many conjectured that the raven had settled on a (floating) body, which the dove would not do.

[b] Genesis xviii.

[c] Genesis xxiii.

[d] Genesis xli.

III. Noah and the Flood

Telling that the flood is now abating, the dove brings back to the ark in her mouth a branch of a green olive tree. For the raven being possessed with voracity had stayed among the loathsome bodies, but the dove brings home the joyful news of the gift of peace.[a]

IV. Abraham and his Entertainment of Guests

This is the lodging which entertained the Lord, where a leafy oak at Mamre covered the old herdsman's shelter. In this cabin Sarah laughed to think that the joy of a child was offered to her late in life, and that her husband in his decline could so believe.[b]

V. Sarah's Tomb

Abraham purchased a field wherein to lay his wife's bones, inasmuch as righteousness and faith dwell as strangers on the earth. This cave he bought at a great price, and here a resting place was acquired for her holy ashes.[c]

VI. Pharaoh's Dream

Twice seven ears of corn and as many cows appearing to Pharaoh in his sleep portend by their different figures that a time of plenty and a time of famine over two spans of seven years are coming upon him. This the patriarch expounds, learning its meaning from Christ.[d]

VII. A Fratribus agnitus Ioseph

Venditus insidiis fratrum puer ipse vicissim
cratera in farris sacco clam praecipit abdi,
utque reos furti Ioseph tenet, auctio fallax
proditur, agnoscunt fratrem veniaque pudescunt.

VIII. Ignis in Rubo

Sentibus involitans Deus igneus ore corusco
conpellat iuvenem, pecoris tunc forte magistrum.
ille capit iussus virgam; fit vipera virga.
solvit vincla pedum; properat Pharaonis ad arcem.

IX. Iter per Mare

Tutus agit vir iustus iter vel per mare magnum.
ecce Dei famulis scissim freta rubra dehiscunt,
cum peccatores rabidos eadem freta mergant.
obruitur Pharao, patuit via libera Moysi.

X. Moyses accepit Legem

Fumat montis apex divinis ignibus, in quo
scripta decem verbis saxorum pagina Moysi
traditur; ille suos suscepta lege revisit,
forma sed his vituli solus deus et deus aurum.

---

[a] Genesis xxxvii–xlv.
[b] Exodus iii–iv.
[c] Exodus xiv.
[d] Exodus xix, xxxii.

VII. Joseph Recognised by his Brethren

The same boy who was sold by his brothers' stratagem gives in his turn secret order that a bowl be hidden in a sack of corn; and when Joseph detains them on accusation of theft the treacherous sale is discovered. They recognise their brother and are put to shame by his forgiveness.[a]

VIII. The Fire in the Bush

God in the form of fire playing on the thorn-bushes with flashing countenance accosts a young man who was at that time, as it chanced, the master of a herd. He being bidden takes his rod, and the rod becomes a serpent. He unlooses the ties on his feet, and hastens to Pharaoh's court.[b]

IX. The Passage of the Sea

The righteous man passes on his way in safety even through the great waters. Behold, the Red Sea yawns apart for the servants of God, while the same sea drowns the furious evil-doers. Pharaoh is overwhelmed, but the way was free and open for Moses.[c]

X. Moses Has Received the Law

The mountain-top is smoking with the divine fire, where the tables of stone inscribed with the ten commandments are handed to Moses. Taking up the law he returns to his people, but their only god is in the shape of a calf, their god is gold.[d]

XI. Manna et Coturnices

Panibus angelicis albent tentoria patrum.
certa fides facti: tenet urceus aureus exim
servatum manna; ingratis venit altera nubes
atque avidos carnis saturat congesta coturnix.

XII. Serpens aereus in Heremo

Fervebat via sicca heremi serpentibus atris,
iamque venenati per vulnera livida morsus
carpebant populum, sed prudens aere politum
dux cruce suspendit, qui virus temperet, anguem.

XIII. Lacus Myrrhae in Heremo

Aspera gustatu populo sitiente lacuna
tristificos latices stagnanti felle tenebat.
Moyses sanctus ait: "lignum date, gurgitem in istum
conicite, in dulcem vertentur amara saporem."

XIV. Aelim Lucus in Heremo

Devenere viri Moysi duce, sex ubi fontes
et sex forte alii vitreo de rore rigabant
septenas decies palmas; qui mysticus Aelim
lucus apostolicum numerum libris quoque pinxit.

XV. Duodecim Lapides in Iordane

In fontem refluo Iordanis gurgite fertur,
dum calcanda Dei populis vada sicca relinquit;
testes bis seni lapides, quos flumine in ipso
constituere patres in formam discipulorum.

---

[a] Exodus xvi. Cf. Hebrews ix, 4. [b] Numbers xxi.
[c] Exodus xv. [d] Exodus xv, Luke x. See *Apoth.* 1005.
[e] Joshua iii, iv

XI. The Manna and the Quails

The fathers' tents are white with bread that angels sent. Belief in the fact is sure; for a golden pitcher holds manna kept from that time. To the ungrateful people comes another cloud, and heaps of quails glut their hunger for flesh.[a]

XII. The Brazen Serpent in the Wilderness

The dry way through the wilderness was swarming with deadly serpents and now their poisoned bites were destroying the people with livid wounds; but the wise leader hangs up on a cross a serpent wrought in brass to take its force from the venom.[b]

XIII. The Lake of Myrrh in the Wilderness

The people thirsted, but the pond was harsh to the taste, holding waters that were bitter in the mouth, a pool of gall. Moses the holy one says: "Get me a piece of wood. Throw it into this pool, and its bitterness will be turned to a sweet savour."[c]

XIV. The Grove of Elim in the Wilderness

The people, led by Moses, came to a place where they found six springs and again six more, with glassy water giving moisture to seventy palm-trees. This mystic grove of Elim represented the number of the apostles in the Scriptures too.[d]

XV. The Twelve Stones in Jordan

Jordan with back-flowing stream moves towards its source, leaving a dry crossing to be trodden by the people of God; witness the twelve stones which the fathers set in the river itself, prefiguring the disciples.[e]

XVI. Domus Raab Meretricis

Procubuit Iericho, sola stant atria Raab.
hospita sanctorum meretrix (tanta est fidei vis)
incolumi secura domo spectabile coccum
ignibus adversis in signum sanguinis offert.

XVII. Samson

Invictum virtute comae leo frangere Samson
adgreditur; necat ille feram, sed ab ore leonis
mella fluunt; maxilla asini fontem vomit ultro:
stultitia exundat lymphis, dulcedine virtus.

XVIII. Samson

Ter centum vulpes Samson capit, ignibus armat,
pone faces caudis circumligat, in sata mittit
allophylum segetesque cremat: sic callida vulpes
nunc heresis flammas vitiorum spargit in agros.

XIX. David

David parvus erat, fratrum ultimus, et modo Iesse
cura gregis, citharam formans ad ovile paternum,
inde ad delicias regis; mox horrida bella
conserit et funda sternit stridente Golian.

---

[a] Joshua ii, vi.
[b] Judges xiv, xv.
[c] See *Hamart.* 500.
[d] Judges xv.
[e] I Samuel xvi, xvii.

XVI. The House of Rahab the Harlot

Jericho has fallen and only the house of Rahab stands. The harlot who entertained the holy men—so great is the power of faith—is without fear and her house is saved; she puts out her bit of scarlet in face of the flames to catch the eye and be a token of blood.[a]

XVII. Samson

A lion tries to rend Samson, whose hair makes him invincible. He slays the wild beast, but from the lion's mouth flow streams of honey; and the jawbone of an ass pours forth water of itself. Foolishness overflows with water, strength with sweetness.[b]

XVIII. Samson

Samson catches three hundred foxes and arms them with fire, tying brands to their tails behind, and lets them loose into the Philistines'[c] crops and burns up their corn. Just so nowadays the cunning fox of heresy scatters the flames of sin over the fields.[d]

XIX. David

David was a child, the youngest of his brothers, and now in charge of Jesse's flock, tuning his harp by his father's sheepfold, which was afterwards to be for the king's pleasure. Later he makes fearful wars, and with a whizzing sling lays low Goliath.[e]

XX. Regnum David

Regia mirifici fulgent insignia David,
sceptrum, oleum, cornu, diadema et purpura et ara.
omnia conveniunt Christo, chlamys atque corona,
virga potestatis, cornu crucis, altar, olivum.

XXI. Aedificatio Templi

Aedificat templum Sapientia per Solomonis
obsequium; regina austri grave congerit aurum.
tempus adest quo templum hominis sub pectore Christus
aedificet, quod Graia colant, quod barbara ditent.

XXII. Filii Prophetarum

Forte prophetarum nati dum ligna recidunt
fluminis in ripa, cecidit discussa bipennis.
gurgite submersum est ferrum, sed mox leve lignum
iniectum stagnis ferrum revocabile fecit.

XXIII. Hebraei in Captivitatem Ducti

Gens Hebraeorum peccamine capta frequenti
fleverat exilium dirae Babylonis ad amnes;
tum patrios cantare modos praecepta recusat
organaque in ramis salicis suspendit amarae.

XXIV. Domus Ezechiae Regis

Hic bonus Ezechias meruit ter quinque per annos
praescriptum proferre diem legemque obeundi

---

[a] I Kings v–x. [b] II Kings vi.
[c] Psalm cxxxvii.

XX. The Kingship of David

The marvellous David's royal emblems shine bright,—sceptre, oil, horn, diadem, purple robe and altar. They all befit Christ, the robe and crown, the rod of power, the horn of the cross, the altar, the oil.

XXI. The Building of the Temple

Wisdom builds a temple by Solomon's obedient hands, and the queen of the South piles up a great weight of gold. The time is at hand when Christ shall build his temple in the heart of man, and Greece shall reverence it and lands not Greek enrich it.[a]

XXII. The Sons of the Prophets

It chanced that while the sons of the prophets were cutting timber on the river's bank an axe-head was struck from its shaft and fell. The iron sank in the depths, but presently a light piece of wood thrown into the water brought the iron within reach again.[b]

XXIII. The Hebrews Led into Captivity

The people of the Hebrews, made captive by reason of their many sins, had wept over their exile by the rivers of cruel Babylon. Then being bidden to sing their native songs, they refuse, and hang their instruments of music on the branches of the bitter willow tree.[c]

XXIV. The House of King Hezekiah

Here good Hezekiah gained the privilege of postponing his appointed day and delaying the law of

tendere, quod gradibus quos vespera texerat umbra
lumine perfusis docuit sol versus in ortum.

XXV. Mariae Angelus Gabriel Mittitur

Adventante Deo descendit nuntius alto
Gabriel Patris ex solio sedemque repente
intrat virgineam. " Sanctus te Spiritus," inquit,
" inplebit, Maria, Christum paries, sacra virgo."

XXVI. Civitas Bethlem

Sancta Bethlem caput est orbis quae protulit Iesum,
orbis principium, caput ipsum principiorum.
urbs hominem Christum genuit, qui Christus agebat
ante Deus quam sol fieret, quam lucifer esset.

XXVII. Magorum Munera

Hic pretiosa Magi sub virginis ubere Christo
dona ferunt puero myrrhaeque et turis et auri.
miratur genetrix tot casti ventris honores,
seque Deum genuisse hominem, Regem quoque summum.

XXVIII. ab Angelis Pastores admoniti

Pervigiles pastorum oculos vis luminis inplet
angelici natum celebrans de virgine Christum.

---

[a] II Kings xx.
[b] Luke i.
[c] *Cf.* Matthew ii, 6.
[d] Matthew ii.

death for fifteen years; and this the sun proved by returning towards his rising and bathing in light the degrees which evening had covered with its shadow.[a]

XXV. The Angel Gabriel is Sent to Mary

The coming of God being at hand, Gabriel comes down as a messenger from the Father's throne on high and unexpectedly enters a virgin's dwelling. "The Holy Spirit," he says, "will make thee with child, Mary, and thou shalt bear the Christ, thou holy virgin." [b]

XXVI. The City of Bethlehem

Holy Bethlehem is the head of the world, for it brought forth Jesus from whom the world began, himself the head and source of all beginnings. This city gave birth to Christ as man, yet this Christ lived as God before the sun was made or the morning star existed.[c]

XXVII. The Gifts of the Wise Men

Here the wise men bring costly gifts to the child Christ on the virgin's breast, of myrrh and incense and gold. The mother marvels at all the honours paid to the fruit of her pure womb, and that she has given birth to one who is both God and man and king supreme.[d]

XXVIII. The Shepherds Warned by the Angels

The strong angelic light fills the shepherds' wakeful eyes, publishing abroad the birth of Christ from

inveniunt tectum pannis; praesepe iacenti
cuna erat; exultant alacres et numen adorant.

XXIX. Occiduntur Infantes in Bethlem

Inpius innumeris infantum caedibus hostis
perfurit Herodes, dum Christum quaerit in illis.
fumant lacteolo parvorum sanguine cunae
vulneribusque madent calidis pia pectora matrum.

XXX. Baptizatur Christus

Perfundit fluvio pastus Baptista locustis
silvarumque favis et amictus veste cameli;
tinxerat et Christum, sed Spiritus aethere missus
testatur tinctum qui tinctis crimina donet.

XXXI. Pinna Templi

Excidio templi veteris stat pinna superstes;
structus enim lapide ex illo manet angulus usque
in saeclum saecli, quem sprerunt aedificantes;
nunc caput est templi et lapidum conpago novorum.

XXXII. Ex Aqua Vinum

Foedera coniugii celebrabant auspice coetu
forte Galilei; iam derant vina ministris;

---

[a] Luke ii. [b] Matthew ii.
[c] Matthew iii.
[d] *Cf.* Matthew xxi, 42, Psalm cxviii, 22.

a virgin. They find Him wrapped in swaddling-clothes, and a manger was the cradle in which He lay. They rejoice with great gladness and worship his divinity.[a]

XXIX. The Babes Are Slain in Bethlehem

The wicked enemy Herod slaughters countless babes, raging furiously in the search for Christ among them. The cradles reek with the milky blood of the little ones, and the mothers' loving breasts are wetted from the hot wounds.[b]

XXX. Christ is Baptised

The Baptist, who fed on locusts and on honey from the woods and clothed himself in camel's hair, bathes his followers in the stream. He baptised Christ too, when suddenly the Spirit sent from heaven bears witness that it is He who forgives sin to the baptised who has himself been baptised.[c]

XXXI. The Pinnacle of the Temple

A pinnacle stands surviving the destruction of the old temple; for the corner built with that stone which the builders rejected remains for all time, and now it is the head of the temple and the joint which holds new stones together.[d]

XXXII. Water Changed into Wine

It chanced that people of Galilee were celebrating a union in marriage in the presence of a company of well-wishers, and now the servants were short of

Christus vasa iubet properanter aquaria lymphis
inpleri; inde meri veteris defunditur unda.

XXXIII. Piscina Siloa

morborum medicina latex, quem spiritus horis
eructat variis fusum ratione latenti;
Siloam vocitant, sputis ubi conlita caeci
lumina Salvator iussit de fonte lavari.

XXXIV. Passio Iohannis

Praemia saltatrix poscit funebria virgo
Iohannis caput, abscisum quod lance reportet
incestae ad gremium matris; fert regia donum
psaltria respersis manibus de sanguine iusto.

XXXV. Per Mare ambulat Christus

It mare per medium Dominus fluctusque liquentes
calce terens iubet instabili descendere cumba
discipulum, sed mortalis trepidatio plantas
mergit; at ille manum regit et vestigia firmat.

XXXVI. Daemon missus in Porcos

Vincla sepulcrali sub carcere ferrea daemon
fregerat: erumpit pedibusque advolvitur Iesu.
ast hominem Dominus sibi vindicat et iubet hostem
porcorum furiare greges ac per freta mergi.

---

[a] John ii.
[b] John v and ix.
[c] Matthew xiv.
[d] Matthew xiv.
[e] Mark v.

wine. Christ bids them quickly fill water-pots with water, and there is poured out from them a stream of old wine unwatered.[a]

XXXIII. The Pool of Siloam

The water is a remedy for diseases; it is emitted with a gush at different times, and the cause of its flowing is unknown. Men call it Siloam; here the Saviour smeared a blind man's eyes with his spittle and bade him wash them in the water of the spring.[b]

XXXIV. The Passion of John

A dancing-girl demands a deathly fee, the head of John cut off so that she may carry it back on a plate to lay it in her impure mother's lap. The royal artiste bears the gift, her hands bespattered with righteous blood.[c]

XXXV. Christ Walks on the Sea

The Lord passes over the midst of the sea, and as He treads with his foot on the flowing waters bids his disciple come down from the rocking boat. But the mortal man's fear makes his feet sink. Christ takes him by the hand and leads him, and makes his steps firm.[d]

XXXVI. The Devil Sent into the Swine

A devil had broken his bonds of iron in the prison of a tomb; he bursts out and throws himself at Jesus' feet. But the Lord claims the man for himself and bids his enemy drive the herds of swine mad and plunge into the sea.[e]

XXXVII. Quinque Panes et duo Pisces

Quinque Deus panes fregit piscesque gemellos,
his hominum large saturavit milia quinque.
inplentur nimio micarum fragmine corbes
bis seni, aeternae tanta est opulentia mensae.

XXXVIII. Lazarus suscitatus a Mortuis

Conscius insignis facti locus in Bethania
vidit ab inferna te, Lazare, sede reversum.
apparet scissum fractis foribus monumentum,
unde putrescentis redierunt membra sepulti.

XXXIX. Ager Sanguinis

Campus Acheldemach sceleris mercede nefandi
venditus exequias recipit tumulosus humandas.
sanguinis hoc pretium est Christi. Iuda eminus artat
infelix collum laqueo pro crimine tanto.

XL. Domus Caiphae

Inpia blasphemi cecidit domus ecce Caiphae,
in qua pulsata est alapis facies sacra Christi.
hic peccatores manet exitus, obruta quorum
vita ruinosis tumulis sine fine iacebit.

XLI. Columna ad quam flagellatus est Christus

Vinctus in his Dominus stetit aedibus, atque columnae
adnexus tergum dedit ut servile flagellis.

---

[a] Matthew xiv. [b] John xi.
[c] Matthew xxvii. *Cf.* Acts i, 19.
[d] *Cf.* Mark xiv, 53 ff.

XXXVII. The Five Loaves and Two Fishes

God broke five loaves and a pair of fish and with these fed five thousand people full with abundance. Twelve baskets are filled with the excess of broken morsels; such are the riches of the everlasting table.[a]

XXXVIII. Lazarus Raised from the Dead

A spot in Bethany was witness of a glorious deed when it saw thee, Lazarus, returned from the abode of death. The tomb is seen cleft open, its doors broken, whence the body has come back after it was mouldering in the grave.[b]

XXXIX. The Field of Blood

The field Aceldama, which was sold for the price of a sin unspeakable, receives bodies for burial and is covered with graves. This is the price of the blood of Christ. The unhappy Judas, hanging off the ground, draws a noose tight about his neck for his great crime.[c]

XL. The House of Caiaphas

You see the unholy house of Caiaphas the false accuser has fallen, the house in which Christ's sacred face was buffeted. This is the end that awaits sinners; their life will lie for ever buried in heaps of ruins.[d]

XLI. The Pillar at which Christ Was Scourged

In this house stood the Lord bound and tied to a pillar, and submitted his back like a slave's to the

perstat adhuc templumque gerit veneranda columna,
nosque docet cunctis inmunes vivere flagris.

XLII. Passio Salvatoris

Traiectus per utrumque latus laticem atque cruorem
Christus agit: sanguis victoria, lympha lavacrum est.
tunc duo discordant crucibus hinc inde latrones
contiguis: negat ille Deum, fert iste coronam.

[XLIII. Sepulcrum Christi

Christum non tenuit saxum, non claustra sepulcri;
mors illi devicta iacet, calcavit abyssum.
sanctorum populus superas simul ivit ad oras;
seque dedit multis tactuque oculisque probandum.][1]

XLIV. Mons Oliveti

Montis oliviferi Christus de vertice sursum
ad Patrem rediit signans vestigia pacis.
frondibus aeternis praepinguis liquitur umor,
qui probat infusum terris de chrismate donum.

[1] *This quatrain has little or no MS. authority. It was first printed by two editors of the sixteenth century, Giselinus (in his second edition) and Fabricius.*

---

[a] This tradition is mentioned by Jerome (*Epist.* 108, 9): among the sights of Palestine Paula saw the pillar "ad quam vinctus (Dominus) dicitur flagellatus," now part of the fabric of a church.

[b] Mark xv, 15.

[c] John xix, 34, Luke xxiii, 39.

[d] Matthew xxvii, 52–3, xxviii, Luke xxiv, 39, John xx, 27.

scourging. This pillar, worthy of all reverence, still stands and supports a church,[a] teaching us to live in freedom from all whips.[b]

XLII. The Saviour's Passion

Pierced through either side, Christ gives forth water and blood. The blood is victory, the water baptism. At this time two robbers on crosses close by on either hand are at variance; the one denies God, the other wins the crown.[c]

[XLIII. The Burial-place of Christ

Neither stone nor the bars of the grave have held Christ captive. Death lies vanquished by Him, He has trodden on the pit. With Him a multitude of the saints passed to the heavenly regions; and He presented himself to many to be proved by touch and sight.][d]

XLIV. The Mount of the Olive Grove

From the top of the mount where the olive trees grow Christ returned to the Father, imprinting there the footmarks[e] of peace. A liquor passing rich flows from the everlasting boughs, showing that the gift of unction has been poured on the earth.[f]

[e] According to old tradition Christ ascended from the middle summit of Olivet. A stone enclosed in an ancient oratory at the site is said to bear the imprint of Christ's foot. The olive is itself symbolic of peace (cf. *Cath.* iii, 55).

[f] *Cf.* Acts i, 9–12.

XLV. Passio Stephani

Primus init Stephanus mercedem sanguinis imbri
adflictus lapidum; Christum tamen ille cruentus
inter saxa rogat ne sit lapidatio fraudi
hostibus. o primae pietas miranda coronae!

XLVI. Porta speciosa

Porta manet templi, Speciosam quam vocitarunt,
egregium Solomonis opus; sed maius in illa
Christi opus emicuit; nam claudus surgere iussus
ore Petri stupuit laxatos [1] currere gressus.

XLVII. Visio Petri

Somniat inlapsum Petrus alto ex aethere discum
confertum omnigenis animalibus: ille recusat
mandere, sed Dominus iubet omnia munda putare.
surgit et inmundas vocat ad mysteria gentes.

XLVIII. Vas Electionis

Hic lupus ante rapax vestitur vellere molli:
Saulus qui fuerat, fit adempto lumine Paulus.
mox recipit visum, fit apostolus ac populorum
doctor et ore potens corvos mutare columbis.

[1] *Some MSS. have* damnatos.

---

[a] Acts vii. Stephanos in Greek = crown.
[b] Acts iii. [c] Acts x.
[d] Acts ix.

XLV. The Passion of Stephen

Stephen is the first to enter into the reward for blood, being dashed down under a rain of stones. But while he is bleeding amid the stones he asks Christ that the stoning may not be laid to his enemies' charge. How marvellous the love shown by the first who won the crown! [a]

XLVI. The Beautiful Gate

The gate of the Temple which men called the Beautiful still stands. It is the illustrious work of Solomon, but at that gate a greater work of Christ shone forth. For a lame man bidden by Peter's lips to rise was amazed to find his feet loosened and able to run.[b]

XLVII. Peter's Vision

Peter dreams that a dish filled with all kinds of beasts has come down from high heaven. He refuses to eat, but the Lord bids him count all clean. He arises, and calls the unclean nations into the knowledge of the divine mysteries.[c]

XLVIII. The Chosen Vessel

Here one who was formerly a ravening wolf is clothed in a soft fleece. He who was Saul loses his sight and becomes Paul. Then he receives his vision again and is made an apostle and a teacher of the nations, having power with his lips to change crows into doves.[d]

XLIX. Apocalypsis Iohannis

Bis duodena senum sedes pateris citharisque
totque coronarum fulgens insignibus agnum
caede cruentatum laudat, qui evolvere librum
et septem potuit signacula pandere solus.

XLIX. The Revelation of John

Four and twenty elders seated and resplendent with vessels and harps and each his crown of honour are praising the Lamb that is bloodstained from the slaughter, and that alone has been able to unroll the book and undo the seven seals.[a]

[a] Revelation iv, 4, v

⟨EPILOGUS⟩[1]

Inmolat Deo Patri
pius, fidelis, innocens, pudicus
dona conscientiae,
quibus beata mens abundat intus.
alter et pecuniam
recidit, unde victitent egeni.
nos citos iambicos
sacramus et rotatiles trochaeos
sanctitatis indigi
nec ad levamen pauperum potentes.
approbat tamen Deus
pedestre carmen et benignus audit.
multa divitis domo
sita est per omnes angulos supellex:
fulget aureus scyphus
nec aere defit expolita pelvis,
est et olla fictilis
gravisque et ampla argentea est parapsis,
sunt eburna quaepiam,
nonnulla quercu sunt cavata et ulmo.
omne vas fit utile
quod est ad usum congruens erilem;
instruunt enim domum
ut empta magno, sic parata ligno.
me paterno in atrio
ut obsoletum vasculum caducis
Christus aptat usibus
sinitque parte in anguli manere.

⟨EPILOGUE⟩

To God the Father he who is devout, faithful, guiltless and pure offers the gifts of his conscience, which the blessed soul within him has in plenty; another again cuts his wealth short to give a living to the needy. For my part I dedicate my swift iambics and quick-running trochees,[a] for I lack holiness and am not rich enough to relieve the poor. Yet God accepts the uninspired song and in kindness listens to it. In the rich man's house there are many furnishings set in every corner; there is the shining golden cup, and the basin of bronze finely wrought is there, and the earthenware pot, and the heavy, broad tray of silver; there are pieces made of ivory, and some hollowed out of oak or elm.[b] There is a use for every vessel that is fitted for the master's service, for the house is furnished both with things that cost a great price and things made of wood. As for me, in his Father's house Christ fits me, as a poor, outworn vessel, for transitory services, and suffers me to keep

[a] In these couplets the first line is trochaic, the second iambic.

[b] *Cf.* II Timothy ii, 20–21.

---

[1] *These verses are absent from the two oldest MSS.; in some they are misplaced; and they do not bear the title* Epilogus.

munus ecce fictile
inimus intra regiam salutis.
attamen vel infimam
Deo obsequellam praestitisse prodest.
quidquid illud accidit,
iuvabit ore personasse Christum.[1]

[1] *Many MSS. in which line* 1 *is omitted* (*thus leaving the sentence incomplete*) *add after* 34 *the line* quo regente vivimus, *which had apparently been inserted at some early time to equalise*

a place in a corner. You see me do but the office of earthenware in the court of salvation; yet it is good to have rendered even the lowest service to God. Whatever be the worth of my performance, it will be my happiness to have sung with my lips of Christ.

---

the numbers of the longer and the shorter lines; but the Hipponactean couplet, as in Horace, Odes II, 18, *begins with the shorter line.*

INDEX

A. = Apotheosis, C. = Liber Cathemerinon, E. = Epilogus, H. = Hamartigenia, Pe. = Peristephanon Liber, Pr. = Praefatio, Ps. = Psychomachia, S. = Contra Orationem Symmachi, T. = Hymnus de Trinitate (vol. I p. 116), TH. = Tituli Historiarum.

Aaron, Ps. 548, 884
Abel, H. pr., Pe. V 372; X 829; TH. II
Abram, Abraham, C. X 153; XII 43; A. 28, 363, 364, 373; Ps. pr.; TH. IV; V
Absalom, H. 564, 577, 580
Aceldama, TH. XXXIX
Acestes, S. II 302
Achar, Ps. 537
Acheron, C. V 128
Acisclus, Pe. IV 19
Actium, S. II 528
Adam, C. III 113, 185; IX 17, 92; A. 691, 911, 926, 1007, 1009; H. 697, 846; Ps. 224, 226; S. II 828; Pe. X 622; TH. I
Adonis, Pe. X 228
Adulterium (personified), H. 397
Aegis, S. II 535, 652; Pe. X 275
Aemilianus, Pe. VI 13, 32, 34, 48, 121
Aeneades, A. 447; S. I 286; II 542
Aeolia, S. I 308
Aesculapius, A. 205; Pe. X 257
Africa, Pe. XIII 96. *v.* Libya.
Agnes, Pe. XIV
Agrippina, S. II 669
Alamannus, S. II 809
Alaric, S. II 696
Alba, Pe. XI 203
Alcides, S. I 226. *v.* Hercules.
Alcmena, Pe. X 227
Alexander the Great, S. II 547
Algidus, S. II 534
Allophilus (= Philistine), H. 500; TH. XVIII
Almo, Pe. X 160
Alps, S. I 467; Pe. II 538
Amalec, C. XII 171
Ambacum, C. IV 59
Ambitio (personified), H. 399
Ammon, A. 443; S. II 355
Amor (personified), Ps. 436
Amor Habendi (personified), Ps. 478
Amorites, H. 413
Amyclae, S. II 548
Ana, Pe. III 188
Anchises, S. I 167
Ancus, S. I 193
Anguis (= Satan), C. X 164; H. 711; TH. I. *v.* Satan.
Anguis (constellation), A. 618
Anicius, S. I 552
Anniades, S. I 551
Antichrist, C. VI 102
Antinous, S. I 271
Antiochus, S. II 562
Anubis, A. 196; S. II 354, 532
Anxietas (personified), Ps. 464
Apelles, S. II 46
Apodemius, Pe. IV 160
Apollo, A. 402, 458; S. I 262; II 524, 567; Pe. III 76; X 189. *v.* Cynthius, Phoebus.
Appenninicola, S. II 521
Arcadia, S. I 227
Arcadius (emperor), S. II 7, 12, 17, 67, 655
Arctoa Sidera, C. XII 13
Arelas, Pe. IV 35
Argo, S. I 117
Argos, S. II 492
Ariadne, S. I 137, 142
Aristo, Pe. X 896, 968, 981, 1001
Aristotle, A. 202
Arius, Ps. 794

Asclepiades, Pe. X 42, 76, 108, 111, 392, 446, 548, 676, 687, 793, 811, 821, 866, 911, 921, 961, 1002, 1102, 1112
Asia, S. II 522
Assyria, A. 145; H. 449; Ps. 60; S. II 550
Athens, S. II 353, 969
Atlas, A. 433
Attis, S. II 52; Pe. X 197
Augurius, Pe. IV 21–28, VI
Augustus, S. I 247, 257, 259, 261, 292; II 533; (=Valerian) Pe. II 119; (=Honorius) S. II 764. *v.* Caesar.
Aurora, C. I 22; A. 612; Ps. 830; S. II 599
Avaritia (personified), Ps. 454, 469, 481, 508, 585
Aventine Hill, S. I 121
Avernus, H. 128, 826, 962; Ps. 92; S. I 389

Baal, C. XII 196; A. 325
Babylon, C. IV 43; A. 129; H. 448; S. II 550; Pe. VI 110; TH. XXIII
Bacchus, S. I 122, 129, 188, 628; II 858; Pe. X 279. *v.* Bromius, Liber, Lyaeus.
Bactra, A. 612
Balae, S. II 741
Barchinon, Pe. IV 33
Bassi, S. I 558
Beelzebub, Pe. V 267
Beliades, H. 610
Belial, H. 520; Ps. 714
Bellona, Ps. 236, 557, S. II 600
Berecyntus, S. II 51
Bestiarii, H. 371–374
Bethania, TH. XXXVIII
Bethlehem, C. VII 1; XII 78, 105; Pe. X 737; TH. XXVI, XXIX
Bible, A. 15, 107, 110, 217, 312, 594; H. 181, 777; S. II 337; Pe. V 181–182, TH. XIV
Boaz, H. 786
Brennus, S. II 562
Britons, Pe. XIII 103
Bromius, S. I 131; II 496. *v.* Bacchus.
Brutus, S. I 556

Caecilianus, Pe. IV 156
Caelum, S. I 53
Caesar (= C. Julius), Pe. II 14; (=Augustus), S. I 250; (=Valerian), Pe. II 95, 97; (= Gallienus), Pe. VI 41; (= Maximian), Pe. I 34, 62; V 66; (= emperor), Pe. V 108. *v.* Augustus.
Caesaraugusta, Pe. IV 3, 54, 83, 142. 197
Caiaphas, TH. XL
Cain, H. pr.; H. 1; TH. II
Calagurris, Pe. I 5 ff.; IV 31; VIII
Camena, C. III 26; IX 3; S. II 47; Pe. VI 153. *v.* Musa.
Camillus, S. II 558, 722; Pe. II 14
Campania, S. II 746; Pe. XI 208
Canaanites, H. 409
Cancer (constellation), A. 619
Candida Massa, Pe. XIII 87
Cannae, S. II 569
Canopus, S. II 922; Pe. III 59; X 255
Capitol, A. 444; S. I 182, 216, 534, 631; II 688, 834. *v.* Tarpeius.
Capua, S. II 742; Pe. XI 208
Carrhae, S. II 574
Carthage, S. I 184; II 246, 497, 739, 945; Pe. IV 17, 61; XIII 1, 51, 71
Cassianus (of Tingis), Pe. IV 45; (of Forum Cornelii), Pe. IX
Castor and Pollux, S. I 227
Catiline, S. I 529
Cato, S. I 545; Pe. II 446
Caucasus, A. 429
Ceres, S. II 563, 918; Pe. X 236
Cethegus, S. I 527
Chaldaea, A. 617
Charon, H. 502; S. I 386
Charybdis, C. VI 107; A. 747; S. II 900
Chelidonius, Pe. I; IV 31; VIII; XI 237
Cherubin, C. IV 4
Christ *passim.*
Christianus, Pe. II 59, 430, 434; V 64, 377; IX 30; X 57, 406, 443, 1002
Christicola, C. III 56; VIII 80; X 57; A. 485; Ps. 13, 96, 526; S. I pr. 79; S. I 481; II 1003; Pe. III 28, 72; VI 25; XI 39, 80; XIII 82
Churches, C. V 137–152; S. I 585; Pe. II 527; III 186–200; V 513–520; XI 169–230; XII 31–64
Cicero, S. I 526, 634
Cittaeus, H. 420

Civilis Discordia (personified), Ps. 477
Claudia, Pe. II 528
Cleopatra, S. II 354
Cloacina, A. 197
Cocytus, S. I 91
Colline Gate, II 686, 740
Coluber (= Satan), C. III 126; Pe. VI 23. *v.* Satan.
Commenta (personified), Ps. 465
Concordia (personified), Ps. 644, 670, 690, 734, 747, 749, 800, 801, 824
Conplutum, Pe. IV 43
Constantine, S. I 468
Corduba, Pe. IV 19
Corinth, S. II 352
Corruptela (personified), Ps. 465
Corvinus, S. II 566
Corybantes, S. II 515
Cossus, Pe. II 14
Cottian Alps, Pe. II 539
Crassus, S. II 575
Crementius, Pe. IV 182
Cremera, S. II 571
Crete, S. II 492, 515, 861. *v.* Gnosius.
Crimina (personified), Ps. 468
Cucufates, Pe. IV 33
Culpae (personified, = Vitia), Ps. 683, 817
Cultura Veterum Deorum (personified), Ps. 29
Cumae, A. 442
Cura (personified), Ps. 464
Curetes, S. II 861
Curius, S. II 558
Cybele, Cybebe, S. II 51, 521; Pe. X 196. *v.* Idaea Mater, Iliaca Mater, Mater Deorum, Megalesius
Cyllenius, A. 412. *v.* Mercury.
Cynicus, A. 201
Cynthius, S. II 493. *v.* Apollo.
Cyprian, Pe. IV 18; XI 237; XIII *v.* Thascius.
Cypris, Pe. X 230. *v.* Venus.
Cytherea, A. 189; S. I 166; II 494. *v.* Venus.

Daemon (= Satan), H. 622; S. II 889; Pe. II 505; X 1088. *v.* Satan.
Dahans, S. II 808
Danae, S. I 68
Daniel, C. IV 37–72
Datianus, Pe. V 13 ff., 40, 94, 130, 175, 250, 378, 422
David, C. IX 4; XII 49, 96; A. 418, 999, 1012; H. 563, 574, 787; Ps. 292, 386, 807; Pe. X 838; TH. XIX, XX
Deacons, Pe. II 37–44; V 30–32
Decius, S. II 672
Delphi, A. 438; S. II 493; Pe. X 188
Deucalion, A. 292
Di Manes, S. I 403, 404
Diana, A. 457; S. I 365, 366; II 495, 525; Pe. X 281. *v.* Hecate, Trivia.
Dicte, S. II 515
Diespiter, S. II 860
Diomedes, S. II 544
Dionysia, S. II 858
Dis, S. I 379. *v.* Orcus, Pluto.
Discordia (personified), H. 395; Ps. 442, 477, 683, 709
Doctrina (personified), H. 399
Dodona, A. 441
Dolus (personified), H. 397; Ps. 465
Draco (= Satan), C. III 111; Pe. I 36; XIV 113; TH. I. *v.* Satan.
Drusus, S. II 558
Dryades, S. I 303

Ebionites, A. 552–781
Ecclesia, C. XII 187; Pe. II 82, 114, 159, 305
Eden, C. III 101–124; Ps. 224
Egypt, C. XII 159, 203; A. 360; H. 470; S. II 529, 933; Pe. II 381; X 254. *v.* Canopus, Memphis, Nile, Nilicola, Pelusiacus, Pharos.
Eleazar, C. X 154
Elijah, C. VII 26; Pe. V 405
Elim, TH. XIV
Elisabeth, A. 587
Eloquium (personified), H. 400
Emerita, Pe. III 3, 38, 186; IV 37
Emeterius, Pe. I; IV 31; VIII
Emmanuel, C. VII 180; A. 604
Encratis, Pe. IV 109
Ephesus, S. II 495
Ephraim, C. XII 189
Epona, A. 197
Erebus, S. I 360
Erinys, Ps. 566
Eryx, S. I 186
Esaias, A. 595; Pe. V 524
Ethici, H. 581
Etna, S. I 308
Etruscus, S. II 518; Pe. XI 206. *v.* Tuscus.

Eulalia, Pe. III; IV 38; XI 238
Eulogius, Pe. IV 21–28; VI
Eumenides, S. I 356; Ps. 466
Eumorphio, Pe. V 466
Euphrates, H. 497
Europa, S. I 61
Europe, S. II 491
Euvaei, H. 422
Evander, S. I 550; II 302
Eve, C. III 112; H. 741; TH. I
Evotius, Pe. IV 157
Ezechias, TH. XXIV

Fabii, S. II 573
Fabius Maximus, S. II 748
Facundia (personified), H. 401
Falernum, C. IX 28; Ps. 368; S. I 127
Famis (personified), Ps. 464, 479
Fasting, C. VII; VIII; Pe. VI 54–57
Fate, S. II 370–374; 450–487
Faunus, Pe. X 242
Febris, H. 158
Felix (of Gerunda), Pe. IV 29; (of Caesaraugusta) Pe. IV 155
Fescennina, S. I 261
Fides (personified), H. 853; Ps. 22, 29, 37, 365, 716, 734, 748, 799, 801, 802, 874; S. II 92, 120; Pe. II 17, X 352
Flora, S. I 266; II 563
Fortuna, S. I 205; II 873–881
Forum Cornelii, Pe. IX 1
Fraus (personified), H. 400; Ps. 258, 259, 268, 630
Free Will, H. 669–801; S. II 472–476
Fronto, Pe. IV 154
Fructuosus, Pe. IV 23; VI
Frugi (personified), Ps. 554
Furia (personified), Ps. 46, 96, 158
Furiae, S. I 368
Furores (personified), Ps. 697
Furtum (personified), H. 397

Gabinus Cinctus, Pe. X 1015
Gabriel, Pe. II 454; TH. XXV
Gades, S. I 226
Gaetulus, S. II 809
Gaius, Pe. IV 181
Galaula, S. II 809
Galerius, Pe. VII 6; X 31
Galileans, TH. XXXII
Gallienus, Pe. VI 41, 45; XIII 35
Gallus (priest of Cybele), S. II 523
Ganymede, S. I 70, 274
Garamans, S. II 809
Gauls, S. II 688, 721; Pe. XIII 103
Gehenna, C. VI 111; XI 112; H. 127, 959; Ps. 496; Pe. I 111
Gelonus, A. 430
Gemini (constellation), A. 623
Genesius, Pe. IV 36
Genius, S. I 447; II 74, 370–449
Gerasene Swine, A. 414, TH. XXXVI
Gerunda, Pe. IV 30
Getae, A. 430; S. II 696, 730
Girgashites, H. 413
Gladiators, S. I 379–399; II 1091–1132
Gnoslus, C. V 52; Pe. X 618. *v.* Crete.
Goliath, H. 784; Ps. 291; TH. XIX
Gomorrah, H. 842; Ps. pr. 17; Pe. V 194
Gorgon, Pe. X 278
Gracchi, S. I 561
Gradivus, S. I 166. *v.* Mars.
Gradus, S. I 582; II 949
Greece, C. XII 202; A. 384; S. II 972; Pe. X 267; TH. XXI

Habakkuk, C. IV 59
Hadrian, S. I 272, 274; Pe. XII 61
Hannibal, S. II 687, 739, 749
Hebrews, C. V 71; A. 379; H. 781; Pe. II 383; TH. XXIII. *v.* Israelites.
Hebrus, A. 429; S. II 495
Hecate, A. 460
Hector, S. II 344
Hellespont, S. I 111
Hercules, A. 457; H. 402; S. I 116; Pe. X 215, 283, 884. *v.* Alcides, Tirynthius.
Heresis (personified), Ps. 710, 725
Herod, C. XII 93, 134; Pe. X 737; TH. XXIX
Hesperia, Pe. XIII 104
Hesperides, S. II 606
Hezekiah, TH. XXIV
Hiberus (Ebro), S. II 605; Pe. I 117; II 537
Hieremias, H. 450
Hierusalem, Ps. 811
Hippocrates, Pe. X 498
Hippolytus (martyr), Pe. XI; (son of Theseus) S. II 55; Pe. XI 87
Hirquinum Sidus (= Capricorn), A. 621
Hispani, Pe. VI 4. *v.* Spain.

Hister, S. II 604, 697
Hittites, H. 420
Hivites, H. 422
Holofernes, Ps. 60
Homer, S. II 46
Honestas (personified), Ps. 243
Honorius, S. II 7, 12, 17, 67, 655, 710, 760, 764, 1115
Huns, S. II 808
Hyacinthus, Pe. X 188
Hydrius Puer (= Aquarius), A. 622
Hylas, S. I 119

Ida, S. I 187, II 522
Idaea Mater, Pe. X 155. *v.* Cybele.
Idalium, S. II 524
Idololatrix Religio (personified), H. 404
Ieiunia (personified), Ps. 244
Iliaca Mater, S. I 628. *v.* Cybele.
Illyricum, Pe. VII 7
Indians, H. 497, 634; S. I 122; II 929; Pe. X 279
Innocents (Massacre of), C. XII 93; Pe. X 736; TH. XXIX
Insomnia (personified), Ps. 465
Iocus (personified), Ps. 433
Ira (personified), H. 395; Ps. 113, 131, 145, 161, 379
Isaac, Pe. X 748
Isaiah, A. 595; Pe. V 524
Iscariot, Ps. 530; TH. XXXIX
Isis, S. I 629; II 494, 869; Pe. III 76
Israelites, C. V 37, 58; XII 95, 160; H. 462 ff.; Ps. 651; Pe. I 40; II 365; III 51. *v.* Hebrews.
Italus, S. I 233
Italy, S. I 57, 112, II 697
Iulus, Pe. II 456
Iustitia (personified), Ps. 243; S. I pr. 57
Iuvencus (= constellation Taurus), A. 620

Jacob, C. II 73; XII 186; A. 31; H. 452
Janiculum, S. II 950; Pe. XI 45
Janus, S. I 233, 237; Pe. II 449
Jebusites, H. 416
Jeremiah, H. 450
Jericho, H. 480; Ps. 536; TH. XVI
Jerusalem, Ps. 811
Jesse, C. XII 50; TH. XIX
Jesus, C. I 81; VII 178; A. 222, 417, 502, 770, 935, 991, 1057; Ps. 764, 777; Pe. VII 56; TH. XXVI; XXXVI
Jews, C. XI 89, 113, XII 181, 202; A. 321–551; H. 452 ff.
Job, Ps. 163
John (the Baptist), C. VII 46; A. 589; Pe. V 376; TH. XXX; XXXIV; (the Apostle), C. VI 77, 108; A. 9, 75; H. 911; TH. XLIX
Jonah, C. VII 101
Jonathan, Ps. 397
Jordan, C. II 64; H. 482; Ps. 99; Pe. VII 66; TH. XV
Joseph, C. VI 57; TH. VI; VII
Joshua, C. XII 173
Judah, C. XII 181; A. 1011; Ps. 383, 543, 547
Judas, Ps. 530; TH. XXXIX
Judith, Ps. 62
Jugurtha, S. I 525
Julia, Pe. IV 151
Julia Lex, Pe. X 203
Julian, A. 449
Juno, A. 189, 456; S. I 71, 184, 251, 293; II 497, 870; Pe. X 214, 287, *v.* Saturnia.
Jupiter, A. 413; S. I 27, 60, 74, 84, 183, 250, 275, 292, 388, 579, 609; II 492, 667, 680, 687, 708, 747, 771; Pe. II 12, 465; VI 39; X 201, 209, 221, 227, 233, 272, 295, 396, 415, 619; XIII 93. *v.* Diespiter, Latiaris, Tonans.
Justus, Pe. IV 41

Kalendae, S. I 240

Labarum, S. I 464, 487
Labor (personified), Ps. 629
Lacaena, S. I 60
Lacedaemon, H. 365; S. II 247, 519
Lachesis, S. II 454
Laomedon, S. II 968
Larentina, S. II 563
Lares, S. I 204; Pe. II 511; X 261
Laterani Aedes, S. I 585
Latiaris, S. I 396. *v.* Jupiter.
Latina Via, S. I 404
Latium, S. I 42, 48
Latonia Virgo, S. I 366. *v.* Diana.
Laverna, S. II 870
Lawrence, Pe. II
Lazarus, C. IX 47; A. 743; TH. XXXVIII

Leda, S. I 64, 228
Lemnius, Pe. X 213. *v.* Vulcan.
Leo (constellation), A. 618
Leontini, S. II 940
Lerna, Pe. X 881
Lethe, C. VI 18
Levi, A. 1011; Ps. 502
Liber, S. I 144; Pe. X 274. *v.* Bacchus.
Libido (personified), Ps. 42, 87, 98
Libya, A. 443; S. I 184; II 491, 937; Pe. XIII 4, 102. *v.* Africa.
Ligures, S. II 701
Lilybeum, S. II 941
Livia, S. I 251, 292–3
Livor (personified), H. 397
Lot, H. 725, 738, 758, 766; Ps. pr. 16, 32.
Lot's Wife, H. 738–776
Lucifer, C. V 130; XII 32; A. 626; TH. XXVI
Lucina, S. II 222
Luctus (personified), H. 395
Luke, A. 1001
Luna, S. I 365
Luperci, S. II 862; Pe. II 518; X 162
Lupercus (martyr), Pe. IV 146
Lusitania Pe. IV 37
Luxuria, Luxuries, Luxus (personified), Ps. 311, 342, 378, 405, 455
Lyaeus, S. I 276

Maccabei Fratres, Pe. V 523, 533; X 751–780
Macedonians, S. II 547
Maeror (personified), H. 395
Magi, C. XII 28, 61, 182; A. 608, 646; TH. XXVII
Maia, S. I 87
Malum (personified = Vitium), Ps. 667
Mamre, TH. IV
Mammon, H. 428; Pe. I 58
Manasses, C. XII 190
Manicheism, A. 952 ff.
Marah, C. V 93; TH. XIII
Marcion, H. pr. 36; H. 1, 56, 124, 129, 502
Marius, S. I 524
Mars, Ps. 118, 215, 549; S. I 174, 181, 185, 284, 293, 626; II 495, 572, 687; Pe. X 212, 619. *v.* Gradivus, Mavors.
Marsians, S. II 516
Martialis, Pe. IV 149
Mary, A. 643; Ps. 88; TH. XXV
Massyli, Pe. IV 46
Mater Deorum, S. I 187; II 51; Pe. X 200, 1062, 1074. *v.* Cybele.
Matthew, A. 981; Pe. X 16
Matuta, S. II 563
Maurl, A. 433
Mavors, Ps. 240; Pe. X 412, 611. *v.* Mars.
Maxentius, S. I 469
Maximian, Pe. I 41; III 77, 81; V 21. *v.* Caesar.
Megaera, S. I 368
Megalesius, S. I 628; II 863
Melchisedec, Ps. pr. 43
Memphis, H. 462; S. II 531, 924. *v.* Egypt.
Mens Humilis (personified), Ps. 199, 203, 248, 267, 274
Mentor, Pe. X 291
Mercury, S. I 87; II 520; Pe. X 194. *v.* Cyllenius.
Messiah, Pe. X 17
Metus (personified), Ps. 464, 629
Minerva, A. 455; S. II 535; Pe. X 275; XIV 27. *v.* Pallas, Tritonia.
Mithridates, S. II 562
Moab, H. 778
Morbus (= Satan), C. X 105
Moses, Moyses, C. V 31, 63; VII 37; XII 144; A. 32, 51, 295, 302, 315; H. 339; Pe. II 363; VI 86; TH VIII; IX; X; XII; XIII; XIV
Mulvius Pons, S. I 482
Musa, S. II 54. *v.* Camena.
Myron, Pe. X 269
Myrrhae Lacus, C. V 93; TH. XIII

Naomi, H. 779
Napaeae, S. I 303
Narbo, Pe. IV 34
Naxos, S. I 188
Nazareus, Nazarenus, C. VII 1; S. I 549; Pe. V 25; X 45
Neaera, S. I 139; Pe. X 240
Nebroth, H. 143
Nebuchadnezzar, A. 129
Nemea, S. I 118
Neptune, S. I 301
Nero, S. II 669; Pe. II 472; XII 11, 23
Nerones (stepsons of Augustus), S. I 279
Nerva, S. I 278
Nestor, Pe. X 408

Nile, C. V 45; S. II 607, 866, 871, 921
Nilicola, Ps. 655; S. II 494
Nimrod, H. 143
Ninevites, C. VII 86, 131
Noah, TH. III
Nola, Pe. XI 208
Noomin, H. 779
Novatus, Pe. XI 19, 29
Numa, A. 215; S. I 103, 193; II 47, 543; Pe. II 444, 514; X 403
Numitor, S. I 193
Nymphae, S. I 302; Pe. X 243
Nysa, S. I 628

Obtrectatio (personified), H. 397
Olivet, TH. XLIV
Olybriacus, S. I 554
Olympus, S. I 59
Operatio (personified), Ps. 573
Optatus, Pe. IV 146
Orcus, S. I 406. *v.* Dis, Pluto.
Orpah, H. 778, 782
Osiris, S. I 629
Ostiensis Via, Pe. XII 45

Padus, S. II 702
Palatium, Palatinus, A. 481; S. I 182; II 766, 1103
Palladium, S. I 195; II 544–546, 911, 966; Pe. II 511
Pallas, S. I 184; II 221, 492, 545, 970. *v.* Minerva.
Pallor (personified), Ps. 464
Pan, Pe. X 242
Pannonia, S. II 716
Paphia, S. I 285, II 576. *v.* Venus.
Paraclitus, C. V 160; Pe. X 430
Paradise, C. V 112–124; X 162; H. 839, 928, 952
Paros, S. II 246; Pe. XI 187; XII 51
Parthians, A. 225; H. 497, 533
Passover, A. 348, 355
Pastor, Pe. IV 41
Patientia (personified), Ps. 109, 128, 155, 175, 177
Paul (Apostle), H. 506; S. I pr.; II 670; Pe. II 459–461, 469, 519; XI 32; XII; XIII 18; TH. XLVIII; (of Narbo), Pe. IV 34
Paulini, S. I 558
Pax (personified), Ps. 631, 668
Pelusiacus, C. V 58; S. II 925
Penates, S. I 195; II 966; Pe. II 448
Pergama, S. I 194; II 967
Periuria (personified), Ps. 464
Perizzites, H. 420
Persa, Persicus, C. XII 25, 203; H. 453; S. II 577; Pe. X 363
Persephone, A. 475. *v.* Proserpina.
Perses, S. II 562
Peter, C. I 50; S. I 584; II pr.; II 670; Pe. II 459–464, 470, 519; VII 61; XI 32; XII; TH. XXXV; XLVI; XLVII
Petulantia (personified), Ps. 433
Pharaoh, C. V 45, 70; VI 62; XII 141; A. 361; H. 464; TH. VI; VIII; IX
Pharos, C. V 82; A. 361; S. II 921
Pherezaeus, H. 420
Phidias, Pe. X 292
Philip, A. 120
Philippi (coins), Pe. II 102
Phlegethon, C. III 199; A. 750; H. 827; S. I 381
Phoebus, S. I 627. *v.* Apollo.
Photinus, Ps. 794
Phryx, Phrygius, S. I 168, 187; II 497, 972; Pe. II 448
Physici, H. 582; S. II 203
Picentines, Pe. XI 206
Picus, S. I 234
Pietas (personified), Ps. 239
Pilate, A. 381
Pinaria Domus, S. I 120
Plato, A. 200; S. I 30
Pluto, S. I 357, 367, 388, 398; Pe. V 99. *v.* Dis, Orcus.
Poenus, Punicus, S. II 246, 739, 945; Pe. IV 61; XIII 1
Pollentia, S. II 720
Pollux, A. 459; S. I 227
Polyclitus, Pe. X 269
Pomerium, Pe. XI 153
Pompa (personified), Ps. 439
Pompeius, A. 539
Pompilius, Pe. X 403. *v.* Numa.
Porta Speciosa, TH. XLVI
Priam, S. II 968
Priapus, S. I 103; II 870; Pe. X 242
Primitivus, Pe. IV 158
Probi, S. I 551
Proserpina, A. 488; S. I 357, 367; Pe. X 237. *v.* Hecate, Luna, Persephone, Trivia.
Prudentius, Pr.; A. 450; H. 933 ff.; S. I 643 ff.; II pr. 44 ff.; Pe. I 116; II 537 ff., 574 ff.; IV 1, 31, 63, 97, 101, 141; VI 143, 160;

IX 3 ff., 99 ff.; X 11, 21, 1136 ff.; XI 1 ff., 177 ff., 243; XIV 126 ff.; E.
Publius, Pe. IV 153
Pudicitia (personified), Ps. 41, 99, 238
Pudor (personified), Ps. 245
Pyrenees, Pe. II 540; VI 147
Pyrrha, Pe. X 410
Pyrrhus, S. II 562

Quintilianus, Pe. IV 152
Quirinus (= Romulus), S. I 539; II 305; Pe. II 419; (martyr), Pe. VII
Quirites, S. I 358; II 947; Pe. II 513, 563; XI 199; XIV 4

Rahab, TH. XVI
Ratio (personified), Ps. 502, 505
Red Sea (crossed by Israelites), C. V 57–80; H. 471–474; Ps. 650–662; Pe. V 481–484; TH. IX
Remus, S. II 299, 396, 946; Pe. II 425
Resurrection, C. III 191–205; X 33–60, 137–148; A. 1062–1084; S. II 191–194, 204–211; Pe. IV 199
Rhea Silvia, S. I 167, 174
Rhine, S. II 604
Rhodes, S. II 494
Romanus, Pe. X
Rome (deified), S. I 219; (personified), S. II 80, 650; (changes of government), S. II 413–435; (tombs of martyrs), Pe. II 541 ff.; XI 1 ff.; XII 29 ff.; XIV 1; (her historical mission), S. I 287–290; II 583–640; Pe. II 413–440
Romulus, S. II 396; Pe. II 443; X 413, 611. *v.* Quirinus.
Ruth, H. 778, 785

Sabaoth, C. IV 7, A. 833
Sabbata, A. 504, 505, 994, 996
Sabellius, A. 3, 178
Sabines, S. I 114
Sabinus, S. I 233
Sacra Via, S. I 218
Sagittae (constellation), A. 622
Saguntum, Pe. IV 100
Salaria Via, S. I 405
Salia, Pr. 24
Salii, S. I 120
Salvator, C. I 50; S. I pr. 80; Pe. I 115; TH. XXXIII
Samnites, S. II 516; Pe. XI 207
Samson, TH. XVII; XVIII
Samuel, Ps. 388
Sapientia (Divine Wisdom), T. 2; H. 164, 345; Ps. 975, 915; S. I pr. 46; II 628; TH. XXI; (philosophy personified), H. 402
Sara, Ps. pr. 47; TH. IV; V
Sardinia, S. II 943, 946
Sarmatians, S. II 808
Satan, H. 126–205, 389–431; (Allophilus tyrannus), H. 500; (aspis), C. III 147; (Belia), H. 520; Ps. 714; (Beliades), H. 610; (Charon mundi), H. 502; (dominatio lubrica mundi), H. 540; (fera), C. IV 78; (hostis), C. VII 191, 201; A. pr. 41; H. 406, 554; (hydrus), H. 614; (latro), H. 508; (liquor), A. 411; (morbus), C. X 105; (pater scelerum), H. 126; (scelerum potestas), H. 424; (praedo), C. XI 38; H. 390; (vipera), C. III 150. *v.* Anguis, Coluber, Daemon, Draco, Serpens.
Saturn, A. 189; S. I 42, 234, 627; II 296; Pe. II 452; X 206
Saturnalia, S. II 859
Saturnia (= Juno), S. I 253; (town), S. I 51
Saturnini, Pe. IV 163
Saul (Paul), TH. XLVIII
Saxons, S. II 809
Scabies, H. 158
Scantinia Lex, Pe. X 204
Scarioth, Ps. 530
Scelus (personified), Ps. 630
Scots, A. 216
Scriptures. *v.* Bible.
Scythia, C. XII 203; A. 426; S. II 294
Senate, S. I 223, 249, 493, 544, 562, 573, 603, 608; II 61, 417, 418, 420, 432; Pe. II 446, 450, 517; V 108
Senones, S. II 688, 721
Sensus (personified), Ps. 729, 759, 841
Seraphin, C. IV 5
Serapis, S. II 532, 869
Sermo (The Word), C. III 141; VI 3; XI 52; A. 155. *v.* Verbum.
Serpens (= Satan), C. VI 141; IX 91; A. 406. *v.* Satan.
Severus, S. I 278
Sexagenarios de Ponte, S. II 294
Shadrach, Meshach, Abednego, A. 129 ff.; Pe. VI 109

Sibyl, S. II 893
Sibylline Books, A. 440
Sicily, S. II 302, 945
Siloam, A. 680; TH. XXXIII
Simeon, A. 1011
Simon, S. II pr. 1
Simplicitas (personified), Ps. 246
Sion, H. 459
Sirius, C. XII 22
Siscia, Pe. VII 3
Sitis Sanguinis, S. Vini, S. Auri (personified), H. 396
Sobrietas (personified), Ps. 244, 345, 403, 417, 450
Sodom, Sodomites, A. 316; H. 725, 735, 740, 763, 773; Ps. pr. 17; Ps. 42; Pe. V 195
Sol Invictus, S. I 310; Pe. X 573 (?)
Solomon, A. 512; H. 576, 579; Ps. 807; TH. XXI; XLVI
Sordes (personified), Ps. 465
Soul (its nature), A. 782 ff.; (its power of vision), C. VI 73 ff.; H. 867 ff.
Spain, S. II 605; Pe. I 4; II 537; VI 4, 5, 144; XIII 537
Spes (personified), Ps. 201, 278, 284
Spiritus (The Holy Spirit), C. IV 14; VI 4; VII 75; IX 20; T. 3, 10; A. 164, 242, 435, 436, 572, 667, 694, 881; H. pr. 37; H. 165, 932; Ps. pr. 64; Ps. 766, 840; S. II 266; Pe. VIII 11; X 104, 682; XIII 9, 71; TH. XXV; XXX
Stator, Pe. X 415
Stephen, Pe. II 371; TH. XLV
Sterculus, Pe. II 449
Stilicho, S. II 711, 743
Styx, C. V 126; A. 228; H. 128; Ps. 520; S. I 356
Subura, Pe. XI 45
Successus, Pe. IV 149
Sulla, Pe. IX 1
Superbia (personified), Ps. 178, 203
Superstitio (personified), H. 395
Symmachus, S. I pr. 66 ff.; S. I 622, 632 ff.; II pr. 55 ff.; II 5, 10, 17, 19, 67, 271 ff., 309, 370, 540, 578, 644, 760, 770, 771
Synna, S. II 247
Syrtes, A. 443; S. II 356

Taenara, A. 749
Tagus, S. II 605
Tarentum, S. II 748
Tarpeius, A. 508; S. I 548; Pe. V 106. *v.* Capitol.
Tarraco, Pe. IV 23; VI 1, 158
Tarshish, C. VII 105
Tartarus, C. I 70; V 133; IX 18, 71; XI 112; XII 92; A. 638; H. 824, 882, 958; Ps. 90, 521; S. I 26, 357, 370, 531; Pe. II 288; V 200; X 475; XIII 52
Taurica Sacra, S. I 395
Taurobolium, Pe. X 1008–1050
Terminus, S. II 1009
Tharsos, C. VII 105
Thascius, Pe. XIII 88, 93
Thebes, S. I 122, II 496
Theodosius I, S. I 4, 9 ff., 28, 36 ff., 410 ff., 528, 538, 616 ff.; II 8, 21, 656, 1117; Pe. II 473 ff.; Pe. XII 47.
Theodosius (father of the above), S. II 8, 22
Thessalian Witchcraft, A. 477; S. I 89; Pe. X 869
Thracians, C. XII 203
Thule, H. 881
Tiber, S. I 482; II 606, 871, 938; Pe. XI 40; XII 7, 29
Tibricolae, Pe. XI 174
Tingis, Pe. IV 45
Tirynthius, Pe. X 239. *v.* Hercules.
Titus, A. 538; S. I 279
Tobias, C. X 69
Tonans (= Jupiter), Pe. X 222, 277; (= God), C. VI 81; XII 83; A. 171; H. 376, 669; Ps. 640; Pe. VI 98
Trajan, S. I 278
Tres Coronae, Pe. IV 20
Trinacrius Ductor, S. II 302
Trinity, C. VI 5; T; Ps. pr. 63; Pe. VI 6
Triptolemus, S. II 918
Tritonia, S. II 574. *v.* Minerva.
Trivia, S. I 369; II 53. *v.* Diana.
Tros, S. I 233
Tullius (= Cicero), S. I 634
Tullus, S. I 193
Tuscus, S. I 57; II 302, 762
Twelve Tables, S. II 462
Tyre, H. 496

Ulysses, S. II 544
Urbanus, Pe. IV 150

Valentia, Pe. IV 97
Valerian (emperor), Pe. II 47, 95, 97, 311; XIII 35; (bishop) Pe. XI 2

Valerii, Pe. IV 80
Vandals, S. II 808
Vascones, Pe. I 94; II 537
Vaticanus Mons, S. I 583; Pe. XII 31 ff., 63
Veneti, S. II 700
Venus, S. I 172, 185, 221, 266, 293, 626; II 226, 535, 555; Pe. III 76; X 256. *v.* Cypris, Cytherea, Paphia, Idalium.
Venustas (personified), Ps. 441
Verbum (The Word), C. VII 1; XI 18, 23, 24; T. 6, 7; A. 44, 49, 53, 72, 74, 108, 109, 114, 115, 116, 120, 267, 403, 524, 525; Ps. 78; Pe X 339, 340. *v.* Sermo.
Vesta, S. I 195; II 913, 966, 970, 1079; Pe. II 511
Vestal Virgins, S. II 912, 919, 1001, 1064 ff.; Pe. II 528
Vettonia, Pe. III 187
Victoria, S. II 28, 33, 36, 59
Vincent, Pe. IV 77, 89, 179; V
Virgo (constellation), A. 623
Virtus (personified), Ps. *passim.*
Vis (personified), Ps. 629
Vitium (personified), Ps. *passim.* *v.* Culpae, Malum.
Voluptas (personified), Ps. 444
Vulcan, S. I 305, 626; Pe. II 356, 404. *v.* Lemnius.

Xystus, Pe. II 22

Zebusiaci, H. 416
Zoellus, Pe. IV 19
Zoroaster, A. 494

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
RICHARD CLAY AND COMPANY, LTD
BUNGAY, SUFFOLK.

THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

VOLUMES ALREADY PUBLISHED

Latin Authors

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS. Translated by J. C. Rolfe. 3 Vols. (*2nd Imp. revised.*)

APULEIUS: THE GOLDEN ASS (METAMORPHOSES). W. Adlington (1566). Revised by S. Gaselee. (*7th Imp.*)

ST. AUGUSTINE, CONFESSIONS OF. W. Watts (1631). 2 Vols. (Vol. I. *7th Imp.*, Vol. II. *6th Imp.*)

ST. AUGUSTINE, SELECT LETTERS. J. H. Baxter. (*2nd Imp.*)

AUSONIUS. H. G. Evelyn White. 2 Vols. (*2nd Imp.*)

BEDE. J. E. King. 2 Vols. (*2nd Imp.*)

BOETHIUS: TRACTS and DE CONSOLATIONE PHILOSOPHIAE. Rev. H. F. Stewart and E. K. Rand. (*5th Imp.*)

CAESAR: CIVIL WARS. A. G. Peskett. (*5th Imp.*)

CAESAR: GALLIC WAR. H. J. Edwards. (*10th Imp.*)

CATO: DE RE RUSTICA; VARRO: DE RE RUSTICA. H. B. Ash and W. D. Hooper. (*2nd Imp.*)

CATULLUS. F. W. Cornish; TIBULLUS. J. B. Postgate; PERVIGILIUM VENERIS. J. W. Mackail. (*12th Imp.*)

CELSUS: DE MEDICINA. W. G. Spencer. 3 Vols. (Vol. I. *3rd Imp. revised*, Vols. II. and III. *2nd Imp.*)

CICERO: BRUTUS, and ORATOR. G. L. Hendrickson and H. M. Hubbell. (*3rd Imp.*)

CICERO: DE FATO; PARADOXA STOICORUM; DE PARTITIONE ORATORIA. H. Rackham. (With De Oratore, Vol. II.) (*2nd Imp.*)

CICERO: DE FINIBUS. H. Rackham. (*4th Imp. revised.*)

CICERO: DE INVENTIONE, etc. H. M. Hubbell.

CICERO: DE NATURA DEORUM and ACADEMICA. H. Rackham. (*2nd Imp.*)

CICERO: DE OFFICIIS. Walter Miller. (*6th Imp.*)

CICERO: DE ORATORE. 2 Vols. E. W. Sutton and H. Rackham. (*2nd Imp.*)

CICERO: DE REPUBLICA and DE LEGIBUS. Clinton W. Keyes. (*4th Imp.*)

CICERO: DE SENECTUTE, DE AMICITIA, DE DIVINATIONE. W. A. Falconer. (*6th Imp.*)

CICERO: IN CATILINAM, PRO FLACCO, PRO MURENA, PRO SULLA. Louis E. Lord. (*3rd Imp. revised.*)

CICERO: LETTERS TO ATTICUS. E. O. Winstedt. 3 Vols. (Vol. I. *6th Imp.*, Vols. II. and III. *4th Imp.*)

CICERO: LETTERS TO HIS FRIENDS. W. Glynn Williams. 3 Vols. (Vols. I. and II. *3rd* Imp., Vol. III. *2nd Imp. revised.*)

CICERO : PHILIPPICS. W. C. A. Ker. (*3rd Imp. revised*)

CICERO : PRO ARCHIA, POST REDITUM, DE DOMO, DE HARUSPICUM RESPONSIS, PRO PLANCIO. N. H. Watts. (*2nd Imp.*)

CICERO : PRO CAECINA, PRO LEGE MANILIA, PRO CLUENTIO, PRO RABIRIO. H. Grose Hodge. (*3rd Imp.*)

CICERO : PRO MILONE, IN PISONEM, PRO SCAURO, PRO FONTEIO, PRO RABIRIO POSTUMO, PRO MARCELLO, PRO LIGARIO, PRO REGE DEIOTARO. N. H. Watts. (*2nd Imp.*)

CICERO : PRO QUINCTIO, PRO ROSCIO AMERINO, PRO ROSCIO COMOEDO, CONTRA RULLUM. J. H. Freese. (*2nd Imp.*)

CICERO : TUSCULAN DISPUTATIONS. J. E. King. (*4th Imp.*)

CICERO : VERRINE ORATIONS. L. H. G. Greenwood. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. *3rd Imp.*, Vol. II. *2nd Imp.*)

CLAUDIAN. M. Platnauer. 2 Vols.

COLUMELLA : DE RE RUSTICA. H. B. Ash. 3 Vols. (Vol. I. *2nd Imp.*)

CURTIUS, Q. : HISTORY OF ALEXANDER. J. C. Rolfe. 2 Vols.

FLORUS. E. S. Forster, and CORNELIUS NEPOS. J. C. Rolfe. (*2nd Imp.*)

FRONTINUS : STRATAGEMS and AQUEDUCTS. C. E. Bennett and M. B. McElwain. (*2nd Imp.*)

FRONTO : CORRESPONDENCE. C. R. Haines. 2 Vols. (*2nd Imp.*)

GELLIUS. J. C. Rolfe. 3 Vols. (*2nd Imp.*)

HORACE : ODES and EPODES. C. E. Bennett. (*14th Imp. revised.*)

HORACE : SATIRES, EPISTLES, ARS POETICA. H. R. Fairclough. (*8th Imp. revised.*)

JEROME : SELECTED LETTERS. F. A. Wright. (*2nd Imp.*)

JUVENAL and PERSIUS. G. G. Ramsay. (*7th Imp.*)

LIVY. B. O. Foster, F. G. Moore, Evan T. Sage, and A. C. Schlesinger. 14 Vols. Vols. I.–XIII. (Vol. I. *4th Imp.*, Vols. II.–VI., VII., IX.–XII., *2nd Imp. revised.*)

LUCAN. J. D. Duff. (*3rd Imp.*)

LUCRETIUS. W. H. D. Rouse. (*7th Imp. revised.*)

MARTIAL, W. G. A. Ker. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. *5th Imp.*, Vol. II. *4th Imp. revised.*)

MINOR LATIN POETS : from PUBLILIUS SYRUS to RUTILIUS NAMATIANUS, including GRATTIUS, CALPURNIUS SICULUS, NEMESIANUS, AVIANUS, and others with "Aetna" and the "Phoenix." J. Wight Duff and Arnold M. Duff. (*2nd Imp.*)

OVID : THE ART OF LOVE AND OTHER POEMS. J. H. Mozley. (*3rd Imp.*)

OVID : FASTI. Sir James G. Frazer. (*2nd Imp.*)

OVID : HEROIDES and AMORES. Grant Showerman. (*5th Imp.*)

OVID : METAMORPHOSES. F. J. Miller. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. *9th Imp.*, Vol. II. *7th Imp.*)

OVID : TRISTIA and EX PONTO. A. L. Wheeler. (*3rd Imp.*)

PERSIUS. Cf. JUVENAL.

PETRONIUS. M. Heseltine; SENECA : APOCOLOCYNTOSIS. W. H. D. Rouse. (*8th Imp. revised.*)

PLAUTUS. Paul Nixon. 5 Vols. (Vols. I. and II. *5th Imp.*, Vol. III. *3rd Imp.*, Vols. IV. and V. *2nd Imp.*)

PLINY : LETTERS. Melmoth's Translation revised by W. M. L. Hutchinson. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 6*th Imp.*, Vol. II. 4*th Imp.*)

PLINY : NATURAL HISTORY. H. Rackham and W. H. S. Jones. 10 Vols. Vols. I.–V. and IX. H. Rackham. Vol. VI. W. H. S. Jones. (Vol. I. 3*rd Imp.*, Vols. II. and IV. 2*nd Imp.*)

PROPERTIUS. H. E. Butler. (6*th Imp.*)

PRUDENTIUS. H. J. Thomson. 2 Vols.

QUINTILIAN. H. E. Butler. 4 Vols. (3*rd Imp.*)

REMAINS OF OLD LATIN. E. H. Warmington. 4 Vols. Vol. I. (ENNIUS AND CAECILIUS.) Vol. II. (LIVIUS, NAEVIUS, PACUVIUS, ACCIUS.) Vol. III. (LUCILIUS and LAWS OF XII TABLES.) Vol. IV. (2*nd Imp.*) (ARCHAIC INSCRIPTIONS.)

SALLUST. J. C. Rolfe. (3*rd Imp. revised.*)

SCRIPTORES HISTORIAE AUGUSTAE. D. Magie. 3 Vols. (Vol. I. 3*rd Imp. revised*, Vol. II. 2*nd Imp.*)

SENECA : APOCOLOCYNTOSIS. Cf. PETRONIUS.

SENECA : EPISTULAE MORALES. R. M. Gummere. 3 Vols. (Vol. I. 3*rd Imp.*, Vols. II. and III. 2*nd Imp. revised.*)

SENECA : MORAL ESSAYS. J. W. Basore. 3 Vols. (Vol. II. 3*rd Imp.*, Vols. I and III. 2*nd Imp. revised.*)

SENECA : TRAGEDIES. F. J. Miller. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 4*th Imp.*, Vol. II. 3*rd Imp. revised.*)

SIDONIUS : POEMS and LETTERS. W. B. Anderson. 2 Vols. Vol. I.

SILIUS ITALICUS. J. D. Duff. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 2*nd Imp.*, Vol. II. 3*rd Imp.*)

STATIUS. J. H. Mozley. 2 Vols. (2*nd Imp.*)

SUETONIUS. J. C. Rolfe. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 7*th Imp.*, Vol. II. 6*th Imp. revised.*)

TACITUS : DIALOGUS. Sir Wm. Peterson. AGRICOLA and GERMANIA. Maurice Hutton. (6*th Imp.*)

TACITUS : HISTORIES and ANNALS. C. H. Moore and J. Jackson. 4 Vols. (Vols. I and II. 3*rd Imp.*, Vols. III. and IV. 2*nd Imp.*)

TERENCE. John Sargeaunt. 2 Vols. (7*th Imp.*)

TERTULLIAN : APOLOGIA and DE SPECTACULIS. T. R. Glover MINUCIUS FELIX. G. H. Rendall. (2*nd Imp.*)

VALERIUS FLACCUS. J. H. Mozley. (2*nd Imp. revised.*)

VARRO : DE LINGUA LATINA. R. G. Kent. 2 Vols. (2*nd Imp revised.*)

VELLEIUS PATERCULUS and RES GESTAE DIVI AUGUSTI. F. W Shipley.

VIRGIL. H. R. Fairclough. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 17*th Imp.*, Vol. II. 13*th Imp. revised.*)

VITRUVIUS : DE ARCHITECTURA. F. Granger. 2 Vols. (Vol. I 2*nd Imp.*)

Greek Authors

ACHILLES TATIUS. S. Gaselee. (*2nd Imp.*)
AENEAS TACTICUS, ASCLEPIODOTUS and ONASANDER. The Illinois Greek Club. (*2nd Imp.*)
AESCHINES. C. D. Adams. (*2nd Imp.*)
AESCHYLUS. H. Weir Smyth. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. *6th Imp.*, Vol. II. *5th Imp.*)
ALCIPHRON, AELIAN, PHILOSTRATUS LETTERS. A. R. Benner and F. H. Fobes.
ANDOCIDES, ANTIPHON. Cf. MINOR ATTIC ORATORS.
APOLLODORUS. Sir James G. Frazer. 2 Vols. (*2nd Imp.*)
APOLLONIUS RHODIUS. R. C. Seaton. (*4th Imp.*)
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS. Kirsopp Lake. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. *8th Imp.*, Vol. II. *6th Imp.*)
APPIAN: ROMAN HISTORY. Horace White. 4 Vols. (Vol. I. *3rd Imp.*, Vols. II., III. and IV. *2nd Imp.*)
ARATUS. Cf. CALLIMACHUS.
ARISTOPHANES. Benjamin Bickley Rogers. 3 Vols. Verse trans. (Vols. I. and II. *5th Imp.*, Vol. III. *4th Imp.*)
ARISTOTLE: ART OF RHETORIC. J. H. Freese. (*3rd Imp.*)
ARISTOTLE: ATHENIAN CONSTITUTION, EUDEMIAN ETHICS, VICES AND VIRTUES. H. Rackham. (*3rd Imp.*)
ARISTOTLE: GENERATION OF ANIMALS. A. L. PECK. (*2nd Imp.*)
ARISTOTLE: METAPHYSICS. H. Tredennick. 2 Vols. (*3rd Imp.*
ARISTOTLE: METEOROLOGICA. H. D. P. Lee.
ARISTOTLE: MINOR WORKS. W. S. Hett. On Colours, On Things Heard, On Physiognomies, On Plants, On Marvellous Things Heard, Mechanical Problems, On Indivisible Lines, On Situations and Names of Winds, On Melissus, Xenophanes, and Gorgias.
ARISTOTLE: NICOMACHEAN ETHICS. H. Rackham. (*5th Imp. revised.*)
ARISTOTLE: OECONOMICA and MAGNA MORALIA. G. C. Armstrong; (with Metaphysics, Vol. II.). (*3rd Imp.*)
ARISTOTLE: ON THE HEAVENS. W. K. C. Guthrie. (*3rd Imp. revised.*)
ARISTOTLE: ON THE SOUL, PARVA NATURALIA, ON BREATH. W. S. Hett. (*2nd Imp. revised.*)
ARISTOTLE: ORGANON. H. P. Cooke and H. Tredennick. 3 Vols. (Vol. I. *2nd Imp.*)
ARISTOTLE: PARTS OF ANIMALS. A. L. Peck; MOTION AND PROGRESSION OF ANIMALS. E. S. Forster. (*3rd Imp. revised.*)
ARISTOTLE: PHYSICS. Rev. P. Wicksteed and F. M. Cornford. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. *2nd Imp.*, Vol. II. *3rd Imp.*)
ARISTOTLE: POETICS and LONGINUS. W. Hamilton Fyfe; DEMETRIUS ON STYLE. W. Rhys Roberts. (*5th Imp. revised.*)
ARISTOTLE: POLITICS. H. Rackham. (*4th Imp. revised.*)
ARISTOTLE: PROBLEMS. W. S. Hett. 2 Vols. (*2nd Imp. revised.*)

ARISTOTLE: RHETORICA AD ALEXANDRUM (with PROBLEMS, Vol. II.). H. Rackham.
ARRIAN: HISTORY OF ALEXANDER and INDICA. Rev. E. Iliffe Robson. 2 Vols. (*2nd Imp.*)
ATHENAEUS: DEIPNOSOPHISTAE. C. B. Gulick. 7 Vols. (Vols. I., V., and VI. *2nd Imp.*)
ST. BASIL: LETTERS. R. J. Deferrari. 4 Vols. (*2nd Imp.*)
CALLIMACHUS and LYCOPHRON. A. W. Mair; ARATUS. G. R. Mair. (*2nd Imp.*)
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA. Rev. G. W. Butterworth. (*3rd Imp.*)
COLLUTHUS. Cf. OPPIAN.
DAPHNIS AND CHLOE. Thornley's Translation revised by J. M. Edmonds; and PARTHENIUS. S. Gaselee. (*3rd Imp.*)
DEMOSTHENES I: OLYNTHIACS, PHILIPPICS and MINOR ORATIONS I.–XVII. AND XX. J. H. Vince. (*2nd Imp.*)
DEMOSTHENES II: DE CORONA and DE FALSA LEGATIONE C. A. Vince and J. H. Vince. (*3rd Imp. revised.*)
DEMOSTHENES III: MEIDIAS, ANDROTION, ARISTOCRATES, TIMOCRATES and ARISTOGEITON, I. AND II. J. H. Vince.
DEMOSTHENES IV–VI: PRIVATE ORATIONS and IN NEAERAM. A. T. Murray. (Vol. IV. *2nd Imp.*)
DEMONSTHENES VII: FUNERAL SPEECH, EROTIC ESSAY, EXORDIA and LETTERS. N. W. and N. J. DeWitt.
DIO CASSIUS: ROMAN HISTORY. E. Cary. 9 Vols. (Vols. I. and II. *2nd Imp.*)
DIO CHRYSOSTOM. J. W. Cohoon and H. Lamar Crosby. 5 Vols. (Vols. I–III. *2nd Imp.*)
DIODORUS SICULUS. 12 Vols. Vols. I.–VI. C. H. Oldfather. Vol. VII. C. L. Sherman. Vols. IX. and X. R. M. Geer. (Vols. I.–III. *2nd Imp.*)
DIOGENES LAERTIUS. R. D. Hicks. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. *4th Imp.* Vol. II. *3rd Imp.*)
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS: ROMAN ANTIQUITIES. Spelman's translation revised by E. Cary. 7 Vols. (Vols. I–IV. *2nd Imp.*)
EPICTETUS. W. A. Oldfather. 2 Vols. (*2nd Imp.*)
EURIPIDES. A. S. Way. 4 Vols. (Vols. I. and II. *7th Imp.*, III. *5th Imp.*, IV. *6th Imp.*) Verse trans.
EUSEBIUS: ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY. Kirsopp Lake and J. E. L. Oulton. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. *3rd Imp.*, Vol. II. *4th Imp.*)
GALEN: ON THE NATURAL FACULTIES. A. J. Brock. (*4th Imp.*)
THE GREEK ANTHOLOGY. W. R. Paton. 5 Vols. (Vols. I. and II. *5th Imp.*, Vol. III. *4th Imp.*, Vols. IV. and V. *3rd Imp.*)
GREEK ELEGY AND IAMBUS with the ANACREONTEA. J. M. Edmonds. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. *2nd Imp.*)
THE GREEK BUCOLIC POETS (THEOCRITUS, BION, MOSCHUS). J. M. Edmonds. (*7th Imp. revised.*)
GREEK MATHEMATICAL WORKS. Ivor Thomas. 2 Vols. (*2nd Imp.*)

HERODES. Cf. THEOPHRASTUS : CHARACTERS.
HERODOTUS. A. D. Godley. 4 Vols. (Vols. I.–III. *4th Imp.*, Vol. IV. *3rd Imp.*)
HESIOD and THE HOMERIC HYMNS. H. G. Evelyn White. (*7th Imp. revised and enlarged.*)
HIPPOCRATES and the FRAGMENTS OF HERACLEITUS. W. H. S. Jones and E. T. Withington. 4 Vols. (*3rd Imp.*)
HOMER : ILIAD. A. T. Murray. 2 Vols. (*6th Imp.*)
HOMER : ODYSSEY. A. T. Murray. 2 Vols. (*7th Imp.*)
ISAEUS. E. W. Forster. (*2nd Imp.*)
ISOCRATES. George Norlin and LaRue Van Hook. 3 Vols.
ST. JOHN DAMASCENE : BARLAAM AND IOASAPH. Rev. G. R. Woodward and Harold Mattingly. (*2nd Imp. revised.*)
JOSEPHUS. H. St. J. Thackeray and Ralph Marcus. 9 Vols. Vols. I.–VII. (Vol. V. *3rd Imp.*, Vol. VI. *2nd Imp.*)
JULIAN. Wilmer Cave Wright. 3 Vols. (Vol. I. *2nd Imp.*, Vol. II. *3rd Imp.*)
LUCIAN. A. M. Harmon. 8 Vols. Vols. I.–V. (Vols. I and II. *4th Imp.*, Vol. III. *3rd Imp.*, Vol. IV. *2nd Imp.*)
LYCOPHRON. Cf. CALLIMACHUS.
LYRA GRAECA. J. M. Edmonds. 3 Vols. (Vol. I. *4th Imp.*, Vol. II. *revised and enlarged.* and III. *3rd Imp.*)
LYSIAS. W. R. M. Lamb. (*2nd Imp.*)
MANETHO. W. G. Waddell ; PTOLEMY : TETRABIBLOS. F. E. Robbins. (*2nd Imp.*)
MARCUS AURELIUS. C. R. Haines. (*4th Imp. revised.*)
MENANDER. F. G. Allinson. (*3rd Imp. revised.*)
MINOR ATTIC ORATORS (ANTIPHON, ANDOCIDES, DEMADES, DEINARCHUS, HYPEREIDES). K. J. Maidment and J. O. Burrt. 2 Vols. Vol. I. K. J. Maidment. (*2nd Imp.*)
NONNOS : DIONYSIACA. W. H. D. Rouse. 3 Vols. (Vol. III. *2nd Imp.*)
OPPIAN, COLLUTHUS, TRYPHIODORUS. A. W. Mair.
PAPYRI. NON-LITERARY SELECTIONS. A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. *2nd Imp.*) LITERARY SELECTIONS. Vol. I. (Poetry). D. L. Page. (*3rd Imp.*)
PARTHENIUS. Cf. DAPHNIS AND CHLOE.
PAUSANIAS : DESCRIPTION OF GREECE. W. H. S. Jones. 5 Vols. and Companion Vol. arranged by R. E. Wycherley. (Vols. I. and II. *2nd Imp.*)
PHILO. 11 Vols. Vols. I.–V.; F. H. Colson and Rev. G. H. Whitaker. Vols. VI.–IX.; F. H. Colson. (Vols. I.–III., V.–IX. *2nd Imp.*, Vol. IV. *3rd Imp.*)
PHILO : two supplementary Vols. (*Translation only.*)
PHILOSTRATUS : THE LIFE OF APOLLONIUS OF TYANA. F. C. Conybeare. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. *4th Imp.*, Vol. II. *3rd Imp.*)
PHILOSTRATUS : IMAGINES ; CALLISTRATUS : DESCRIPTIONS. A. Fairbanks.
PHILOSTRATUS and EUNAPIUS : LIVES OF THE SOPHISTS. Wilmer Cave Wright. (*2nd Imp.*)
PINDAR. Sir J. E. Sandys. (*7th Imp. revised.*)

PLATO : CHARMIDES, ALCIBIADES, HIPPARCHUS, THE LOVERS THEAGES, MINOS and EPINOMIS. W. R. M. Lamb. (*2nd Imp.*)

PLATO : CRATYLUS, PARMENIDES, GREATER HIPPIAS, LESSER HIPPIAS. H. N. Fowler. (*4th Imp.*)

PLATO : EUTHYPHRO, APOLOGY, CRITO, PHAEDO, PHAEDRUS H. N. Fowler. (*9th Imp.*)

PLATO : LACHES, PROTAGORAS, MENO, EUTHYDEMUS. W. R. M. Lamb. (*3rd Imp. revised.*)

PLATO : LAWS. Rev. R. G. Bury. 2 Vols. (*3rd Imp.*)

PLATO : LYSIS, SYMPOSIUM, GORGIAS. W. R. M. Lamb. (*4th Imp. revised.*)

PLATO : REPUBLIC. Paul Shorey. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. *4th Imp.*, Vol. II. *3rd Imp.*)

PLATO : STATESMAN, PHILEBUS. H. N. Fowler; ION. W. R. M. Lamb. (*4th Imp.*)

PLATO : THEAETETUS and SOPHIST. H. N. Fowler. (*4th Imp.*

PLATO : TIMAEUS, CRITIAS, CLITOPHO, MENEXENUS, EPISTULAE. Rev. R. G. Bury. (*3rd Imp.*)

PLUTARCH : MORALIA. 14 Vols. Vols. I.–V. F. C. Babbitt; Vol. VI. W. C. Helmbold; Vol. X. H. N. Fowler. (Vols. I., III., and X. *2nd Imp.*)

PLUTARCH : THE PARALLEL LIVES. B. Perrin. 11 Vols. (Vols. I., II., and VII. *3rd Imp.*, Vols. III., IV., VI., and VIII.–XI. *2nd Imp.*)

POLYBIUS. W. R. Paton. 6 Vols.

PROCOPIUS : HISTORY OF THE WARS. H. B. Dewing. 7 Vols. (Vol. I. *2nd Imp.*)

PTOLEMY : TETRABIBLOS. Cf. MANETHO.

QUINTUS SMYRNAEUS. A. S. Way. Verse trans. (*2nd Imp.*)

SEXTUS EMPIRICUS. Rev. R. G. Bury. 4 Vols. (Vol. I. and III. *2nd Imp.*)

SOPHOCLES. F. Storr. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. *9th Imp.*, Vol. II. *6th Imp.*) Verse trans.

STRABO : GEOGRAPHY. Horace L. Jones. 8 Vols. (Vols. I. and VIII. *3rd Imp.*, Vols. II., V., and VI. *2nd Imp.*)

THEOPHRASTUS : CHARACTERS. J. M. Edmonds; HERODES, etc. A. D. Knox. (*3rd. Imp.*)

THEOPHRASTUS : ENQUIRY INTO PLANTS. Sir Arthur Hort, Bart. 2 Vols. (*2nd Imp.*)

THUCYDIDES. C. F. Smith. 4 Vols. (Vol. I. *4th Imp.*, Vols. II., III. and IV. *3rd Imp. revised.*)

TRYPHIODORUS. Cf. OPPIAN.

XENOPHON : CYROPAEDIA. Walter Miller. 2 Vols. (*3rd Imp.*)

XENOPHON : HELLENICA, ANABASIS, APOLOGY, and SYMPOSIUM. C. L. Brownson and O. J. Todd. 3 Vols. (Vols. I. and III. *3rd Imp.*, Vol. II. *4th Imp.*)

XENOPHON : MEMORABILIA and OECONOMICUS. E. C. Marchant. (*2nd Imp.*)

XENOPHON : SCRIPTA MINORA. E. C. Marchant. (*2nd Imp.*)

IN PREPARATION

Greek Authors

ARISTOTLE : DE MUNDO, ETC. D. Furley and E. M. Forster.
ARISTOTLE : HISTORY OF ANIMALS. A. L. Peck.
ARISTOTLE : METEOROLOGICA. H. D. P. Lee.
PLOTINUS : A. H. Armstrong.

Latin Authors

ST. AUGUSTINE : CITY OF GOD.
[CICERO] : AD HERENNIUM. H. Caplan.
CICERO : PRO SESTIO, IN VATINIUM, PRO CAELIO, DE PROVINCIIS CONSULARIBUS, PRO BALBO. J. H. Freese and R. Gardner.
PHAEDRUS. Ben E. Perry.

DESCRIPTIVE PROSPECTUS ON APPLICATION

London WILLIAM HEINEMANN LTD
Cambridge, Mass. HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS